





A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

From the Time of its
First Invasion by the *Romans*,
Fifty-four Years before the Birth of CHRIST,
To the PRESENT TIME.

COMPREHENDING
Its Ancient State under the *Britons*, *Romans*,
Saxons, and *Danes*.

With a particular Account of each Reign, from the
Norman Conquest in 1066, to the Year 1756.

The Whole divided into NINE PARTS, containing
the Grand Periods of the HISTORY.

By an ENGLISHMAN.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. NEWBERRY, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard* ;
and W. OWEN, at *Temple-Bar*.

M,DCC,LVII.

A NEW
HISTORY

OF
ENGLAND



In Answer to the
Query of the
W. & A. Society
the second in 1850
the first in 1850
the first in 1850

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

VOL. III.

The SEVENTH PART.

From the RESTORATION of King
Charles the Second in 1660, to the
REVOLUTION in 1688.



A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

VOL. III.

The Restoration of the STEWART Line.

XXVI. CHARLES II. *the forty-sixth Monarch of England, and the third of Great-Britain; the twenty-sixth from the Norman Conquest, and the third of the Stewart Line.*

THE Harmony that is to make *England* subsist and flourish, must have its Rise from a due Respect, and Obedience to be paid by the whole People, to that Authority with which the Laws have vested the different Parts that compose this Government: as first the Prince who is Head of the Republic; and then the two Pillars supporting the Royal Dignity, which are the House of Lords, and House of Commons. When, by the Arts of wicked Men, the Multitude are

B 2

brought

brought to slight the regal Power, in a little Time Sedition begins; which is soon followed by civil War; and the *English* Histories are full of such popular Comotions. In the last civil Wars, the Multitude were incited against the House of Lords, who were excluded from their Seats in Parliament; and, as soon as that was done, the Sceptre was wrested from the Prince: But it was never known, till a little before the Accession of Queen *Anne*, that the People were stirred up to lop off the other Branch of the Constitution, by trampling upon the Rights and Privileges of a House of Commons. Yet it is not difficult to foretell, what would be the Consequence of such an Attempt, if ever it should prevail; for it must either terminate in the absolute Rule and Tyranny of a single Person; or it must end in Anarchy, or the wild Dominion of a Rabble.

FROM leaving a Scene of Madnéss and Confusion, we are now to open one full of Splendour and Majesty. The *English*, like the ancient *Thebans* and *Celenians*, mentioned by *Pausanias*, having renounced Monarchy for a Commonwealth, were at last sensible of their egregious Error; and unanimously concurred in the Restoration of their King. Their Zeal now to the exiled *Charles*, was like that which the West Saxons had shewn to his Ancestor the great *Egbert*, 841 Years before, whom they recalled from his Exile at *Rome*, and elected their King; though he might have claimed hereditary Right, which he wisely relinquished for the Election of the People; for his Virtues were deserving the Throne.

THIS Similitude of Fortune between these two Princes has been hitherto unobserved by all Historians; who have also forgot, that *Sirward* Earl of *Northumberland*, restored *Malcolm* the Son of *Duncan*, to the Throne of *Scotland*, in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*; much in the same Manner as General *Monk* restored *Charles* the Second to the Throne of *Great-Britain*, 606 Years after; who, as well as *Malcolm*, was descended from *Fergus*, the Founder of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and also, as well as *Egbert*, was descended from *Cerdic*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the West Saxons. But it is plain, that the

English

English were not always attached to *hereditary Right*: For, besides other weaker Examples, *Edgar Atheling*, who was Grandson to King *Edmund-Ironside*, and Nephew to *Edward the Confessor*, whereby he was undoubted Heir to the Crown, was removed from the Succession, not only by the Usurper *Harold the Second*, but also by *William the Conqueror*: However, the Niece of *Edgar Atheling* was married by *Henry the First*, which caused the Union of the *Norman* and *Saxon* Lines; in the same Manner as the Marriage of *Henry the Seventh*, with the Daughter of *Edward the Fourth*, caused the Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

It is amazing to think what Streams of Blood were shed in *England* from the Invasion of *Julius Cæsar*, to the Restoration of *Charles the Second*. It is impossible to make an exact Calculation of what happened during the 443 Years that the *Romans* were in Possession of the Island: But we know, that in the Wars between the *Danes* and *Saxons*, which continued 200 Years, there were 54 Battles by Land, and 38 Engagements at Sea, besides Skirmishes; in which no less than 300,000 Men perished on both Sides: As also that, in the thirty Years War between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, most of the Nobility were slain, with about 150,000 common People. The Wars between King *Charles the First* and his Parliament were also very bloody; for at the several Battles were killed, on both Sides, as follows.

The first Civil War.

A. D.		King's Party.	Parliament's Party.
1642	At Edgehill —————	2600	2400
	At Lansdown —————	1500	400
	At Roundway-down ———	2000	6000
1643	At Newbury —————	1400	600
	At Horn-Castle ————	1500	500
	<i>Irish</i> Troops in <i>Cheshire</i> --	4800	400
		<hr/> 13,800	<hr/> 10,300
	B 3		At

A. D.		King's Party.	Parliament's Party.
	Brought over	13,800	10,300
1644	{ At Selby —————	1500	800
	{ At Marston-Moor ———	4000	500
	{ At Alresford —————	600	300
	{ At Cropedy —————	200	800
	{ Second Battle at Newbury	3000	2500
	{ At Naseby —————	600	1000
	{ (5000 Prisoners)		
1645	{ At Langport —————	500	200
	{ At Torrington —————	3000	400
	{ At Routon-Heath ———	600	500
	{ (1000 Prisoners)		
	{ Under Digby in the North	1500	
1646	{ At Stow —————	800	200

The second Civil War.

1648	{ At St. Fagon's —————	1500	600
	{ (3000 Prisoners)		
	{ Scotch at Preston —————	5000	
	{ ——— at Winwick —————	3000	1200
	{ (10,000 Prisoners)		

The Republic.

1650	{ In Scotland under Montrose -	300	
	{ At Dunbar —————	4000	300
	{ (10,000 Prisoners)		
1651	{ In Fife —————	2000	400
	{ (1500 Prisoners)		
	{ Scotch at Worcester ———	3000	300
	{ (8000 Prisoners)		

16 MA 64 ———

Killed 48,900

20,300

BESIDES

BESIDES these Battles, there were many bloody Skirmishes, and Sieges, as well in *England*, as in *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. The Cruelty of *Cromwell* upon the *Irish* Papists, was equal to what they had committed upon the Protestants. There were also some Disputes between the Royalists and Republicans in the *American* Colonies: And much Blood was shed on Account of Insurrections.

IN these Commotions there were slain on the Side of the King, in the first Civil War, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Northampton*, *Denbigh*, *Sunderland*, *Carnarvon*, *Kingston*, and *Litchfield*; Lord Viscount *Falkland*; with the Lords *Aubigny*, *Grandison*, *Widdrington*, two of the Name of *Stewart*, and the Marquis of *Vieuville* a *Frenchman*: But, on the Side of the Parliament, the only Persons of Distinction killed were the Lord *St. John*, Lord *Brooke*, and Mr. *Hampden*. In the second Civil War, the Royalists had the Lord *Francis Villiers* killed: And, in the Time of the Republic, Lord *Libberton*, another Lord *Widdrington*, and *William Duke of Hamilton*. All these Noblemen perished in the Field: But many other Royalists were taken Prisoners, and executed, after the Death of the King. In *England*, *James Duke of Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, were beheaded; as also were the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Alexander Carew*, Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, Sir *Timothy Featherstone*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Colonel *Penruddock*, and some others of inferior Rank: Sir *George Lisle* and Sir *Charles Lucas* were shot; and many others died by the Hangman. In *Scotland*, the Marquis of *Montrose* was hanged: As also were the Bishops of *Ross*, and *Clogher*, in *Ireland*. The beheading of the Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbishop *Laud*, was still remembered; nor was it forgot that the Princess *Elizabeth* died a Prisoner at fifteen Years of Age: So that nothing less could be expected, than that the Resentment of the Nation would fall heavily upon the Regicides; and that those Persons should be brought to Justice, who had been instrumental in enslaving the Kingdom.

THUS *England* suffered greatly by these intestine Com-motions ; which were no sooner ended, than she was plunged into a bloody Quarrel with the *Dutch* ; when seven very desperate Battles at Sea were fought, in little more than fourteen Months : And, when *Cromwell* granted Peace to the *Dutch*, he carried on a War against *Spain*.

ALL these Wars were as expensive as they were bloody to *England* ; for the Prosecution of which, it is computed that the Parliament raised above ninety-five Millions, five hundred, and twelve thousand Pounds sterling ! Therefore, the People were weary of their Yoke, which they had put upon themselves ; and were so fond of restoring the King, that they almost forgot the Constitution of the Kingdom. Though there were some Persons in this Excess of Joy, who considered, that as all the constituent Parts of Government, aggregately considered, ought to have their due Weight ; so no one Part is to invade the Rights of the other. When they respect one another, they become awful to the People, whom they ought to lead, and not to follow. Where there is this Agreement in all the Parts, the State is sound and perfect ; being capable of acting with Vigour, both at Home and Abroad : But, when they clash, every Thing must stand still ; the executive Power remains impotent, and unregarded ; there is a Kind of Break or Chasm in Government, whereby one Wheel of the great Engine is first stopped, and then another, till the Whole is in Confusion. The State of *England* was now reverting to its ancient Constitution ; according to which, “ The King is head of the Commonwealth, and has his Prerogatives : The Lords Spiritual and Temporal have their separate Privileges : The House of Commons have their Rights : And these altogether are what some have stiled the *Three Estates of Parliament* : ” Which the Fate of *Charles* the First might have convinced his Children it would be dangerous for them to invade. For if *Britons* once come to lose the distinguishing Mark which makes them happy above the Rest of Nations ; if the Bounds are removed ; if the *Constitution* is altered ; and Parliaments are laid aside, or their Authority weaken-
ed ;

ed ; we are no longer a free Country ; and that regular Building will be thrown down, which our Ancestors, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, have erected.

ISOCRATES, the *Athenian*, in his third Oration, elegantly and sufficiently proved, that Monarchy is the best Form of Government ; observing, “ that, in Aristocracies and Republics, Persons in great Employments, frequently make the Public suffer, by their Envy and Ambition : But Monarchs have no Cause of envying any in the State, and therefore consult and put in Practice the best Methods of Government.” This excellent Orator was born in, and lived under, a Republic ; which made him deliver this Oration in the Person of *Niocolas*, King of *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, who enjoyed the Throne which his Ancestors had lost, and kept it by adhering to the noble Virtues of Temperance and Justice. He not only mentions the ancient Opinion, that the Gods themselves were governed by a Monarchy : But says, that the *Persian* Empire was grown to its vast Extent ; not so much upon Account of the Superiority of Genius in that Nation, as because they honoured the Royal Dignity more than other Nations. It was this natural Power of Monarchy that rendered *Dionysius* capable of restoring *Sicily*, and making his own Country one of the most flourishing States of *Greece*. The *Carthaginians* and *Lacedæmonians*, who had the best governed Cities, were subject in Peace to a Kind of Aristocracy ; but always obeyed one supreme General in Time of War. It may also be observed, that the City of *Athens*, which had the utmost Aversion for Monarchy, was generally unsuccessful whenever it commissioned several Generals ; but was always successful, when the Safety of the State was trusted to a single Person. These were the Sentiments of an old Republican *Grecian*, in Commendation of Monarchy, as the most excellent Form of Government ; which Opinion has been confirmed by *Cicero*, in his twelfth Chapter of the second Book of his Offices, who was also a Republican ; yet says, “ It was for the Sake of enjoying the Benefits of Justice,

that the *Medes*, and ancient *Romans*, chose always Men of the greatest Honesty for their Kings: But, if they were prudent and wise, the People thought there was nothing they might not obtain by their Conduct and Management." Many Writers among the Moderns, have been almost lavish in praising this Kind of Government; particularly Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who says, "The Virtue of Kings, next after God, gave them Crowns; and the People's Love, so purchased, held them on their Heads." And even *Algernon Sydney* acknowledges, that, "in the general Sense, Monarchy or kingly Government is the most easy, and most excellent: But Corruption coming into the World, neither the Sons of *Jupiter*, nor the Sons of *Hercules*, found Perfection entailed upon them; nor were exempt from their Share of human Frailty." These Reflections are proper to introduce the Reign of *Charles* the Second, which introduced a new System of Policy throughout all the States of *Europe*.

KING *Charles* the Second was born, at *London*, on the 29th of *May* 1630; and, as the Speaker of the House of Commons told the King, "God himself was pleased to honour and adorn that Day with a new additional Star never seen before nor since; a Star of rare Aspect, which declared to all the World at once, the happy News of his Majesty's Nativity." The King was eighteen Years old at the Death of his Father; had been twelve Years in Exile; and was thirty Years of Age at the Time of his Restoration. He was little known among his Subjects, because he had lived long out of his Dominions: But his Friends had been so lavish in his Praise, before his Restoration, that he passed for an accomplished Prince, endowed with all the Virtues, and noble Qualities, of a Hero; which Prepossession occasioned more Mischief to the Kingdom, than all the Calumnies thrown upon the last King. He proved one of the finest Gentlemen of the Age; and had Abilities to make one of the best of Kings: For his Wit was lively, his Conception wonderful, and his Judgment exquisite. He was not ignorant of the Constitution of his own Country,

try, nor of the particular Interests of the Princes of *Europe*: But he was so much addicted to his Pleasures, and so negligent of his Affairs, that his Reign was neither glorious to himself, nor happy to his Subjects, who almost adored him in the Beginning of his Reign, but retained little Affection for him towards its End. He was extremely affable; and so easy, and complaisant, that he seemed to take a Pleasure in bestowing Favours, by his Manner of receiving the Requests that were made to him; though he had as little Sincerity as the rest of his Family. However, he had Policy enough to conceal some of the disagreeable Parts of his Character: For it is certain he embraced the *Romish* Religion before his Restoration; yet the Secret was only known to the Earl of *Bristol*, and Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, who kept it so well that it was not known to the People till after his Death, when it was divulged by his Successor. It was hoped he would be satisfied with restoring the Government to the State it was in under Queen *Elizabeth*; without attempting to extend the Prerogative, like his Father and Grandfather: But it afterwards appeared that these Hopes were vainly founded; and that, after the People had reposed an Excess of Confidence in the King, he blasted all their Expectations; as, by that Confidence, he violently shook their Liberty, and left it, together with their Religion, to the precarious and tyrannical Will of his Successor, who had certainly accomplished the Ruin of both, if it had not been prevented by the seasonable Interposition of Providence.

THE happy Restoration of the King, occasioned a wonderful Alteration in the Kingdom; which, after a Series of twenty Years Trouble, Massacre, and Consternation, was converted into one Scene of Joy, Pleasure, and Festivity. The Storm was appeased, the Gloom was dispersed; a Calm succeeded, and the Sun reappeared: While the *Halcyon* hovered round the Coast of *Britain*, and promised a long Tranquility to an Island, which had been so long the Seat of Confusion.

ALL Parties united in receiving the King with loud Acclamations ; because they expected him to restore the public Happiness, and put the unhinged Frame of Government in its natural Position. The Royalists were in Raptures to see the King on the Throne of his Ancestors. The Episcopalians were delighted to think that the Church of *England* was to resume her former Lustre. The Presbyterians expected nothing less than the Toleration of their Religion. The Republicans, Independents, and Anabaptists, relied on an entire Impunity, conformable to the Declaration made at *Breda*. And even the Regicides were not absolutely in Despair, as by that Declaration, none were to be precluded from the Royal Clemency, but such Persons as were excepted by Parliament.

BISHOP *Burnet* has divided this Reign into two Parts ; the one from 1660 to 1673 ; and the other from 1673 to the Death of the King in 1685. He had his private Reasons for this Division : Because he was more authentically acquainted with the Affairs of *Scotland* during the first twelve Years ; and little conversant with those of *England* : But, during the last twelve Years, he was himself much concerned in the Transactions of *England*. This Prelate is no more to be regarded for the Elegancy, than for the Impartiality, of his Work ; yet his Division of it does not seem improper : For the first Period glided smoothly enough ; the latter was full of Perplexities, and is a memorable Æra in the *English* History : Therefore, that Division will be adhered to here, without any farther treading in the Steps of that Writer ; whose History, however, may be of Use, when read with Precaution ; as, indeed, all other Authors ought to be read, who have treated of these Times.

ALMOST all the Transactions of this Reign were influenced by Religion, and the Royal Prerogative ; which makes the Accounts given by different Historians so contradictory to each other. There are three Sorts of Authors who have wrote the History of this Reign. The *first*, are those who profess to be High-Church with Regard to Religion ; and, with Respect to the Government,

ment, ascribe to the King an almost unlimited Power, while he professes himself of their Party, being called the *High-Fliers*, or *Rigid Tories*; who were good Protestants; but invetrate Enemies against the Presbyterians, whom they scarcely allowed to be Christians, because they had no Bishops. The *second*, are a Set of Writers, who were Protestants, and of the Number of that Party called *Whigs*; among whom there was a Mixture of Churchmen and Presbyterians. And the *third*, are Popish Writers, whose Tenets and Principles were equally repugnant to the established Religion, and the old Constitution of *England*.

THE frequent Insinuations of such Historians ought not to be implicitly regarded. They deserve all to be suspected: On which Account, Lord *Bolingbroke*, who ought to be suspected as much as any other, advises, "to pay no Regard to the Epithets given, nor to the Judgments passed; to neglect all Declamation, weigh the Reasoning, and advert to Fact:" But this was only a Repetition of the Advice given by *Rapin* before.

I. The

I. *The FIRST PART of the Reign of King CHARLES the Second, from his RESTORATION in 1660, to the Opposition against the Ministry in 1673.*

A. D.
1660.

THIS Monarch nominally began his Reign over *Great-Britain*, from the Death of his Father, on the 30th of *January* 1649. He was proclaimed King of *Scotland*, on the 1st of *February* 1649; and was crowned, at *Scone*, on the 1st of *January* 1651. But his Reign over *England* did not actually commence till the 8th of *May* 1660, when he was proclaimed in *London*: Nor was he crowned there till the 23d of *April* 1661. His Reign continued till 1685; and afforded a great Variety of Incidents, that strongly affected the Kingdom.

THE Saxons and Normans had wisely settled the Government of *England* upon a monarchical Bottom: And those very Men, who, some Years before, had jostled out Monarchy, on Account of its Encroachments upon the Rights of the People, were become as zealous now to restore it again, on the Encroachments which the assuming Part of the People had lately made upon the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects.

It looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of *England*, that the People did not throw up their Liberties all at once upon the Restoration: For though, as *Welwood* observes, "some were for bringing the King back upon Terms; yet, after he was once come, he possessed so entirely the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive."

His Majesty was received into the House of Peers by the Earl of *Manchester*, their Speaker, with a Speech,
con-

congratulating him upon "this happy Restoration to his A. D. Crown and Dignity, after so long and so severe a Sup-^{1660.}pression of his just Right and Title. He observed, *That* as the Nation in general, so the Peers with a more personal and particular Sense, had felt the Stroke that cut the Gordian Knot, which fastened his Majesty to his Kingdom, and the Kingdom to his Majesty. *That* since those strange and various Fluctuations and Discomposures in Government; since those horrid and unparallelled Violations of all Order and Justice, Strangers had ruled over them, even with a Rod of Iron. But, continued he, great King! give me leave to speak the Confidence, as well as Desires, of the Peers of England: *Be you the powerful Defender of the true Protestant Faith, the just Assertor and Maintainer of the Laws and Liberties of your Subjects; so shall Judgment run down like a River, and Justice like a mighty Stream.* He said, he offered no flattering Titles; for his Majesty was the Desire of three Kingdoms: *That* the Hands of his People were lifted up to Heaven with Prayers and Praises: And what oral Triumph could equal this his Pomp and Glory? He concluded with these Words: "Long may your Majesty live and reign; a Support to your Friends; a Terror to your Enemies; an Honour to your Nation; and an Example to Kings, of Piety, Justice, Prudence, and Power; that this prophetic Expression may be verified in your Majesty, *King Charles the Second shall be greater than ever was the greatest of that Name.*" His Majesty returned a gracious Answer, importing, *That* he found his Heart really set to endeavour by all Means for the *restoring of the Nation to Freedom and Happiness*; which he hoped to effect by the Advice of his Parliament: Of this also they might be confident, that, next to the Honour of God, he should study the *Welfare of his People*; and should not only be a *true Defender of the Faith*, but a *just Assertor of the Laws and Liberties* of his Subjects." A Medal was struck in Commemoration of this great Event: But a few Years shewed that the Peers entertained too high an Opinion of the King, who came very short of his Promises: As also that both he and his Ministers were desirous

A. D. 1660. *si*rious of gradually *undermining* the *Constitution*, instead of storming it by open force.

THE King, immediately on his Restoration, imitated the Conduct of his Grand-father *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who succeeded to that Crown, on the Extinction of the Line of *Valois*, by the Death of *Henry* the Third in 1589; in the same Manner as his Grand-father *James* the First, succeeded to the Crown of *England*, on the Extinction of the Line of *Tudor*, by the Death of *Queen Elizabeth* in 1603. *Henry* the Fourth introduced the House of *Bourbon* to the Throne, and annexed *Navarre* to *France*: *James* the First also introduced the House of *Stewart* upon the Throne; and annexed *Scotland* to *England*. *Charles* the Second, like *Henry* the Fourth, renounced the Protestant Religion; and, like him, he endeavoured to stifle all Animosities among his divided Subjects. He was at first so punctual in performing his Declaration published at *Breda*, that he received some Persons into his Council, who seemed naturally to have no Pretensions to such Honour and Favour, as they had formerly professed themselves Enemies to his Family; but his Aim was to unite all in Obedience to the Laws, and a sincere Attachment to his Person, as the true Center of his Government.

THE first Thing which the King undertook was to establish a Council, consisting of thirty Persons. These were the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*; Sir *Edward Hyde*; General *Monk*; Admiral *Montague*; the Marquises of *Ormond*, *Dorchester*, and *Hertford*; the Earls of *Southampton*, *Lindsey*, *Berkshire*, *Norwich*, *Manchester*, *Northumberland*, *St. Albans*, and *Leicester*; Viscount *Say*; the Lords *Wentworth*, *Seymour*, *Culpepper*, and *Roberts*; *Denzil Holles*, Sir *Frederic Cornwallis*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Colonel *Howard*, *Arthur Annesly*, Sir *Charles Berkley*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*. Most of these were Royalists, who had shewn great Zeal and Affection for the King and his Father; but some of them were eminent Presbyterians, particularly *Manchester*, *Roberts*, *Cooper*, *Annesly*, and *Holles*, who, according to *Burnet*, had the chief Hand in
the

the Restoration: for which they were soon rewarded A. D. with Titles, as well as Employments: while *Calamy* and ^{1660.} *Baxter*, two remarkable *Presbyterian* clergymen, were very whimsically made Chaplains to the King.

GENERAL *Monk* had been already created Duke of *Albemarle*, and honoured with the Garter; he was continued in his Command as Captain-General of all the Forces in the three Kingdoms; was made Master of the Horse; and allowed a Grant of 7000 *l.* a Year to support his Grandeur. Admiral *Montague* was made Earl of *Sandwich*. The Duke of *York* was invested with the Title of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. Sir *Edward Hyde* was appointed Lord Chancellor and Prime Minister. The Earl of *Southampton* Lord High Treasurer. Sir *Edward Nicholas* and Sir *William Morrice*, Secretaries of State. The Marquis of *Ormond* was appointed Lord Steward; and the Earl of *Manchester* Lord Chamberlain to the Household. Sir *Frederic Cornwallis* Treasurer to the Household; Sir *Charles Berkley*, Comptroller; and Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household.

By these Promotions in the Cabinet, and the Council, the King gratified all Parties. The old *Royalists* were pleased with the new Ministry; and the *Presbyterians* were kept in good Humour, by having some of their Party caressed by the King, who politically admitted their Leaders into the Council, because they had such Influence in the Parliament, which was now *Constitutionally* formed of two Houses of Lords and Commons.

THE *Presbyterians* had the Superiority in the Lower House over the *Episcopalians*; and gave the King convincing Marks of their Zeal for his Service. But, as soon as his Majesty arrived in *England*, this Assembly, which had been honoured with the Name of *Parliament*, since the 25th of *April*, was only called the *Convention*; because the King was unwilling to own them for a *Parliament*, as they had not been summoned by his Writs. However, this Change of Name was of no long Continuance: for, on the 1st of *June*, his Majesty went to the House of Lords, where he sent for the House of Commons,

A. D Commons, and gave the royal Assent to three Acts for 1660. the better establishing the Government. The *First* was, to change the *Convention* into a *Parliament*, and as such to declare the two Houses then sitting at *Westminster*, notwithstanding any Want of the King's Writs of Summons; whereby the long Parliament begun the 3d of *November* 1640, was fully dissolved, which originally met for the Preservation of the true and ancient *Constitution*. The *Second* was, to continue the monthly Tax of Seventy Thousand Pounds for three Months. And the *Third* was, to continue all judicial Proceedings.

THE three principal Points which the Parliament took into Consideration, were, 1st. An Act of Pardon, or Indemnity, pursuant to the Declaration of *Breda*, for whatever had passed since the Beginning of the Troubles. 2^d. For enabling the King to disband the Army. And 3^d. For settling his Revenue.

THE Act of Indemnity was the most urgent; and was necessary, for the Security both of the Persons and Descendants of those who had been concerned in the late Troubles, and were liable to be called to an Account, if the Laws had been strictly executed. The Royalists had been deemed Rebels since the Year 1642: And, as the King was now at the Head of the Government, he might have explained the Laws in his own Favour, by declaring those Rebels who had been in Arms either against him or his Father. The Question of Right concerning the War between the King and the Parliament remained undecided; nor was it easy or expedient to determine, as such Explications had occasioned the Troubles, which were now intended to be buried in eternal Oblivion. The Parliament accepted of the Pardon and Indemnity offered in the Declaration made at *Breda*; by proceeding in a Body to *Whitehall*, where the Commons, with the Speaker at their Head, acknowledged, at the Footstool of the Throne, both for themselves, and in the Name and Behalf of the whole Nation, the Guilt they had contracted by the late unnatural Rebellion. But the Speaker reprimanded Mr. *Lenthall*, in the House, for saying, "He that first drew his Sword against
against

against the late King, committed as great an Offence as A. D. 1660.
 he that cut off his Head." These Words were spoke
 upon the Debate of the Bill of Indemnity; and were
 considered by the House, to contain the highest Reflec-
 tion on the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of
 the last Parliament, in their acting before 1648: Their
 Conduct was looked upon, by the present Parliament, as
 just and necessary; because, they insisted, that the Sword
 was then drawn, to bring *Delinquents to Punishment*, and
 to vindicate the *just Liberties* of the People: Therefore,
 they could not bear a Reflection, that brought those who
 acted before 1648, into Balance with them who *Cut off*
the King's Head; "Appealing to God, and their Con-
 sciences bearing Witness, that they had no Thoughts
 against his Person, much less against his Life."

THE Sword of Liberty was certainly drawn on that
 Occasion: But the People, after a fatal Experience,
 found they had only been altering the Mode of Tyranny;
 and they embraced the first Opportunity of restoring the
Constitution, by restoring the King. The Parliament, in
 the Manner they accepted the Act of Indemnity, con-
 demned many of their old Confederates; some of whom
 were to be sacrificed to the Manes of the murdered
 King; and the Royalists who suffered in 1649: But the
 Commons were not so eager for shedding Blood as the
 Lords, who had suffered most from the Barbarity of the
 late Times, and were desirous to mark the Revival of
 their Authority, with some exemplary Shew of Punish-
 ment upon those who had so long loaded them with Op-
 pressions.

THE King, on the 6th of *June*, published a Procla-
 mation, declaring, that all such of the late King's Judges
 as did not surrender themselves within fourteen Days,
 should be excluded from the general Pardon. This Pro-
 clamations was considered as a Sort of Pardon, at least
 for Life, to those who confided in it: In Consequence of
 which, twenty surrendered; nineteen withdrew out of
 the Kingdom; and others were taken in attempting to
 escape. But, by the Words of this Proclamation, those
 who surrendered themselves could not be assured of their
 Lives.

A. D. Lives. The Act of Indemnity met with some Obstacles 1660. in the House of Commons; and with more in the House of Lords, where it was proposed, that all those should be excepted from Pardon, who had *a Hand in the Death of the King*; or who had *sate in any High-Court of Justice during the Usurpation*. Such an Extension alarmed the People: And both Houses had Conferences upon this Subject; in one of which, Chancellor Hyde declared, "That, being employed in an Ambassy to Spain, he was expressly charged by his Majesty to avow, *That the horrible Murder of his Father was not the Act of the Parliament, or People of England; but of a very wretched and little Company of Miscreants in the Kingdom.*" The Commons returned their Thanks to the King for this just Defence of the Parliament and People of England. The King desired the Lords, to pass this Act without other Exceptions than of those who were immediately guilty of the Murder of his Father: And, on the 29th of *August*, it received the royal Assent: Though it has been suggested, that he trespassed on the Privilege of Parliament, by interfering in Matters depending before the House.

By this Act of Indemnity, an absolute Pardon was given to all who had been engaged in the late Troubles; excepting forty-nine of the late King's Judges: With this Distinction, that as to the Twenty, who surrendered themselves, if they were condemned, they should not be executed without an Order from the King and Parliament. *Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, Pride*, and twenty others, who were dead, were attainted, and their Estates confiscated. *Phelps*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, were put in the same Condition. Sir *Henry Vane* and *Lambert*, were excepted from Pardon, both as to Life and Estate. *St. John*, and seventeen others, were excluded from any Benefit of this Act, if they ever accepted any public Employment in *England*: As also were those who had converted to their Use any Goods belonging to the Church. All those who had given Sentence of Death in any of the late illegal High-Courts of Justice, except Colonel *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Thomlinson*, were disabled

disabled from bearing any Office. And Penalties were A. D. made against those who should use any Words of Reproach ^{1660.} tending to revive the Memory of the late Troubles. Besides, the King released and discharged all Arrears of Wards, Alienations, Purveyance, respite of Homage, and Rent; which were computed to amount to above twelve Millions Sterling: But he expected a suitable Compensation, from the Gratitude of his Parliament, in return for his Generosity.

THE Act of Indemnity was represented as an extraordinary Act of Clemency; and it was quite reverse to the Proscriptions generally attendant upon such Alterations in Government. *Sylla*, the *Roman* Dictator, who defended the Cause of the Nobility against the Commons, in a bloody civil War; was as inhuman after his Victory, as *Cromwell*, who set the Commons against the Nobility. *Cæsar* was equally cruel to the Adherents of *Pompey*; which made *Cicero* say, his Cause was impious, and his Victory scandalous; as he did not stop at selling of private Mens Estates, but involved all the Countries and Provinces together in one common Calamity. Lord *Clarendon* has much the same Observation upon *Cromwell*, who sold all the Estates and Effects belonging to the Royal Family. The victorious Party in the Barons Wars, and in the Contentions between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, shewed great Severity to their Enemies: But *Henry* the Seventh acted very different, by passing an * Act of Indemnity, and offering a general Pardon, to all who submitted to his Mercy: In which he was now imitated by his Successor *Charles* the Second; who shed little Blood, in Revenge for the Death of his Father, twenty-two Noblemen, many Gentlemen, and upwards of 50,000 common Soldiers: So that Bishop *Parker* remarks, "The King vanquished his Enemies by this Act of Oblivion."

THE Commons strove to shew themselves as grateful, as the King seemed to be generous; and took it into Consideration how to establish his Révenue, before he passed the Act of Indemnity. The Monarchs of *England*,

* See Vol. II. p. 8.

A. D. 1660. *land*, from the Reign of *Edward* the First, were used to impose some Duties upon the Importation and Exportation of Merchandize, by their Prerogative, which Custom had rendered almost hereditary. But, in Process of Time, this unlimited Prerogative of the Crown came to be restrained, and in a great Measure yielded up to the Parliament †, upon the frequent Petitions of the Subjects for the Remission of such arbitrary Impositions, and their free Offers of sufficient Supplies by Parliament, for all necessary Occasions. King *Edward* the Third, and his Successors, suspended these ancient Duties, which were much decreased; and, in Lieu thereof, accepted either of such temporary Subsidies, or Aids by Parliament, as were thought sufficient to assist them upon any extraordinary Occasions; or of such fixed and settled Subsidies as should be necessary for the Support of the Crown, the Defence of the Realm, and the Safeguard of the Seas, during their respective Lives.

THESE parliamentary Subsidies were composed of a *Tonnage*, and a *Poundage*. *Tonnage* was originally granted by Parliament to King *Edward* the Third, being payable upon all Wines imported, after the particular Rates, and according to the particular Methods, prescribed by the several Laws which granted this Duty to the respective Kings and Queens; being at first no more than 2*s.* per Ton; though it was very much increased in succeeding Ages. *Poundage* was first granted to *Henry* the Sixth for Life; being payable on all other Merchandize imported and exported, according to the particular Rates and Values prescribed; and was at first no more than 6*d.* in the Pound. These Subsidies had undergone several Regulations; and were now granted to King *Charles* the Second for Life; together with the Continuation of the *Excise* till the 20th of *August*, which was first introduced during the Civil Wars. It may be necessary to observe, that the Duties of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, have generally brought in about 600,000*l.* a Year, free of all Charges and

† See *Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, under the Article Customs.

and Deductions : But the Excise was then confined in a A. D. narrow Compass, and produced nothing like so much in 1660. the Beginning as at the End of this Reign. This was the Introduction of all those innumerable and burthen-some *Taxes* which have so much overloaded Trade, and are become a perfect Science to understand : For there have been no less than thirty additional Branches, or particular Duties, imposed since the Restoration, which annually produce about 1,300,000*l.* and are properly called the *Customs*. The Duty of *Excise*, first levied by the Parliament in 1643, was charged on Malt-Liquors and Cyder made for Sale : It was afterwards extended to Salt, Malt, Hops, Sweets, Low-Wines or Spirits, Candles, Soap, tanned Hides and Skins, Vellum and Parchment, Paper, printed Silks, &c. gilt Wire, Starch, Plate, Tea, Spirituous-Liquors, and Glafs. These *Excises*, as well as the *Customs*, were gradually introduced, particularly after the Revolution in 1688, when they produced only 694,476*l.* for the first Year : But the *Excise* Duty, in 1703, amounted to 1,745,860*l.* and, in 1726, it brought in 2,677,354*l.* which was 1,146,993*l.* more than the *Customs*.

BOTH *Customs* and *Excises* were afterwards settled as so many hereditary *Taxes*, and were Matters of the utmost Importance in the succeeding Reigns ; which may well justify these Observations, and it will be very essential to continue them at their proper Periods ; especially as the Extension of *Excise* Laws must always be considered as repugnant to the Institution of *Juries*, and a large Breach in the *Constitution* ; notwithstanding the Pill has been artfully gilded by those state Empirics, who had not Skill to heal up the Wounds, which had been long festering for Want of an effectual Cure by able Physicians.

THE Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, with that for the *Temporary Excise*, received the royal Assent, on the 28th of *July* ; when Sir Harbottle Grimstone, the Speaker of the House of Commons, presented them to his Majesty, with the following memorable Speech : “ That it was never the Course of Parliaments to charge the People with Pay-

A. D. Payments, until their *Liberties and Grievances* were first
 1660. confirmed and redressed: Yet, out of the greatest Trust and
 Confidence that ever Subjects had in a Prince, the House
 of Commons then went out of their old Way, and sup-
 plied his Majesty's Necessities with the greatest Gift that
 ever Prince of this Kingdom had given by his People."

WHEN his Majesty passed the Act of Indemnity, he
 also passed four others; One for Confirmation of judicial
 Proceedings from the 1st of May 1642, notwithstanding
 their Illegality: Another, for Provision of Monies to pay
 off the Armies and Navy, by a Poll-Bill: A third, To
 prevent Usury, by fixing the Interest of Money at six per
 Cent: And a Fourth, For a perpetual Anniversary-Thanks-
 giving on the 29th of May, the Day of his Majesty's Birth
 and Restoration.

THE Speaker of the House of Commons made a
 Speech full of Adulation to the King; extolling him as
 a proper Person for the Defender of the Faith, and in-
 veighing against the Regicides. The King then ad-
 dressed the Parliament, by desiring them, "To cause
 exemplary Justice to be done upon those who were guilty
 of seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who
 broke out into seditious Actions. He also acquainted
 them, that he had not so much Money in his Purse, as
 when he came to them: That the weekly Expence of the
 Navy eat up all they had given him by the Bill of Ton-
 nage and Poundage: That he had not been able to give
 his Brothers one Shilling since he came into England;
 nor to keep any Table in his House, but what he eat at
 himself." The Commons made a Present to the Duke
 of York of 10,000*l.* and of 7000*l.* to the Duke of
 Gloucester. They also proceeded to settle the Revenue
 for the King, and resolved to raise it to 1,200,000*l.*
 which was to answer all the extraordinary Expences of
 the Government; and was more than any King of Eng-
 land had ever enjoyed, except Henry the Eighth. But,
 before this could be completed, the King came to the
 Parliament, on the 13th of September, and passed some
 Bills that were ready: After which, both Houses ad-
 journed to the 6th of November: Though the King, by

consenting to this Adjournment, thought he had shewn a *A. D.* great Act of Indulgence, in throwing aside his Prerogative, when the Parliament were made to expect a Prorogation. 1660.

SIX Acts were passed on this Occasion. 1. For the speedy raising of a Supply, by Way of Land-Tax. 2. To disband the Army, and pay off some Part of the Fleet. 3. To raise 140,000 *l.* at 70,000 *l.* a Month, to begin the 1st of *November*. 4. To regulate the *Bay Trade*. 5. To encourage and increase Shipping and Navigation. 6. For restoring some Ministers to their Places, and confirming others in vacant Places. His Majesty also recommended it to both Houses, "To join with him in reducing the Proceedings of Parliaments, to the ancient Rules and Orders; the Deviation from which had done them no Good."

THE same Day was remarkable for the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was unexpectedly taken out of the World by the Small-Pox, in the 20th Year of his Age. He was tenderly beloved, and greatly lamented, by the King; who appeared more concerned for the Loss of his Brother, than for any Misfortune which had ever happened to him before. This young Prince was also regretted by the Court and People, who had Reason to think he was more attached to the *Religion and Constitution* of his Country, than either of his Brothers; both of whose good Qualities were united in him. He had the Penetration of the King, and the Industry of the Duke of *York*; without the Levity and Indolence of the former, or the Moroseness and Obstinacy of the latter: So that his Death was looked upon to be as great a Loss to *England*, as the Death of his Uncle *Henry Prince of Wales*, who died the 6th of *November* 1612, in the 18th Year of his Age.

THE Death of this amiable Prince was soon followed by that of his Sister the Princess Dowager of *Orange*, who came to *London*, on the 25th of *September*, to congratulate the King her Brother upon his Restoration: But was also taken ill of the Small-Pox, and died on the 24th of *December*, at the Age of twenty-nine Years.

A. D. 1640. Her Name was *Mary*, and she was married, on the 2d of May 1641, to *William Nassau Prince of Orange*, who died on the 13th of November 1650, and seven Days after his Death the Princess was delivered of a Son, who in 1688 became King of *England* by the Name of *William the Third*.

THE King issued out a special Commission, by Way of Goal-Delivery, for Trial of the Regicides, during the Recess of Parliament. The Commissioners were thirty-four; consisting of twenty Privy-Counsellors, the Lord-Mayor, eight Justices, and five other Lawyers; among whom were several who had distinguished themselves against the late King. The Number of those concerned in the Death of *Charles the First*, as Judges, Officers of the Court of Justice, and others, amounted to eighty-one; of whom twenty-five were dead, nineteen had made their Escapes, seven were pardoned, and twenty-nine condemned to die. But of these last, nineteen were pardoned as to Life, in pursuance of the Proclamation of the 6th of June, and reserved for other Penalties; such as Imprisonment, Banishment, and Forfeiture of Estate; their Names being *Hardress, Waller, Wiat, Tichburne, Marten, Pennington, Row, Holland, Downs, Garland, Temple, Millington, Haveringham, Lilburn, Fleetwood, Smith, Meyn, and Hewlet*: So that only ten were to be executed. These were General *Harrison, Carew, Scot, Clement, Scroop, and Jones*, who all sate as Judges at the Trial of the late King; and the last came in upon the Proclamation. The other four were *Axtel*, who had guarded the High Court of Justice: *Cook*, the Solicitor, who had been Chief Justice of *Ireland*: *Hugh Peters*, the favourite enthusiastic Preacher of *Cromwell*: And *Hacker*, who commanded on the Scaffold at the King's Execution. They were all arraigned, on the 10th of October, at the *Old-Bailey*, on Indictments for compassing the Death of the late King, within the Statute of the 25th of *Edward the Third*. Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, sate as President of the Court, and in his Charge to the Jury said, "He must deliver for plain and true Law, that no Authority,

thority, no single Person, no Community of Persons, ^{A. D.} not the People collectively or representatively, have any ^{1662.} coercive Power over the King of *England*." Which he undertook to prove by instancing the Case of the two *Spencers* in the Reign of *Edward* the Second; as also by citing the Maxims of Common Law, and the Meaning of several Statutes. He said, "It is a Rule of Law, the King can do no wrong; therefore, cannot be punished for any wrong: But if any of his Ministers do wrong, though by his Command, they are punishable." The establishing of such a Doctrine, was attempted by *James* the First, and declared fundamental by the present Parliament: But it was inconsistent with the Actions of the Long-Parliament, contradictory to the received Opinions of the Presbyterians, and was only making a mere Matter of Form of the Trial of the Regicides, who were denied the Benefit of Council, and were readily brought in guilty, with an Appearance of Malice as well as of Justice: *William Hewlet* was also brought in guilty for being the King's Executioner: But was pardoned; because no Credit was given to the Accusation. *Harrison* behaved in a noble Manner at his Trial: He acted wholly upon Republican Principles, and had disdained all the Honours that *Cromwell* could confer upon him, when he began his Usurpation. All of them defended their Conduct, as if they were conscious of no Guilt: They knew their Fate was determined, and were prepared to face Death in its utmost Terrors. *Harrison*, and the five others who were Judges; with *Cook* and *Peters*, were immediately executed at *Charing-Cross*: But *Hacker* and *Axtel* suffered at *Tyburn*. They gloried in the Cause for which they died, and acted the Part of resolute Romans. Sir *Henry Vane* and *Lambert*, though they were not concerned as the immediate Murderers of the King, were reserved to take their Trials in 1662; when the former was executed, and the latter was banished. Some others were imprisoned in the *Tower*, and treated with great Ignominy. The Bodies of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Bradshaw*, and *Pride*, were taken out of their Graves, drawn on Hurd-

A. D. 1660. *les to Tyburn*, hung up for several Hours, their Heads cut off and placed upon *Westminster-Hall*, and their Bodies thrown into a Hole under the Gallows; which was done on the 30th of *January* 1661; being the same Day of the Month that they caused the King to be beheaded, twelve Years before. This exposing of the dead Bodies might seem an irrational Excess of Resentment; especially as it was believed that the Remains of *Cromwell* were never found: But it was so far politic, as it was agreeable to the general Indignation which the People now conceived of the Regicides; and it was somewhat like what had been done by *Hardicanute* the Dane in 1039. At the same Time, an Act of Attainder was passed against the Blood and Estates of the nineteen Judges of the late King, who were fled from Justice, among whom was the brave and sensible Republican Major-General *Ludlow*, Author of the Memoirs under his Name, who received Intelligence from Secretary *Morrice*, that if he staid, he was a dead Man; and retired into *Switzerland*, as a Country more suitable than any other to his Notion of Liberty; and the others were *Lisle*, *Say*, *Walton*, *Whalley*, *Barkstead*, *Livesey* Okey, *Hewson*, *Goffe*, *Holland*, *Chaloner*, *Carwley*, *Cobbet*, *Love*, *Dixwel*, *Blagrove*, *Broughton*, and *Dendy*, who were all thereby adjudged, convicted, and attainted of High-Treason: But *Barkstead*, *Okey*, and *Cobbet*, were seized in *Holland*, in 1662, and sent to *England*, where they were executed, as well as *Vane*. However, among all these Respects paid to the Memory of the Royal Martyr, it is surprizing that the Court never considered that he was interred without the funeral Service: That as also his Son should now neglect to have that Ceremony performed.

THE Concerns of Religion were craftily intermingled with those of the State: For the King secretly wanted an Indulgence to Popery; and his Prime-Minister avowed his Aversion to Presbytery. The Declaration of *Breda* promised a Liberty to tender Consciences; which the inferior Sectaries thought a sufficient Toleration: But the Presbyterians aspired at an Establishment

in Opposition to the Episcopalians ; both of whom had ^{A. D.} oppressed each other by turns, and abused the Power ^{1640.} which had fallen into their Hands. If the King had been restored upon strict Limitations, the Establishment of Presbyterian Discipline would have been as rigidly insisted upon in *England*, as it had been in *Scotland*, before the King arrived there from *Breda*, in 1650 : But, from the Dissimulation of *Monk*, and the Impatience of the People, the re-establishment of the Hierarchy, was the necessary Consequence of the Restoration of the Monarchy.

IN 1553, two Bishops were expelled the House of Lords, for refusing to give Reverence to the Mass ; and several of them were put to Death by Queen *Mary*. In 1559, two Bishops were sent to the *Tower*, for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy to Queen *Elizabeth*. The Bishops favoured King *James* in his Views of arbitrary Power : And, in 1641, upon the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*, they gave up their Right to sit in Cases of Blood ; which was a papal Immunity, formerly imposed upon the Bishops of *England* to keep up a separate Jurisdiction. In 1642, ten Bishops were sent to the *Tower*, on a Vote of the House of Commons, impeaching them of High-Treason, for protesting against the Proceedings of Parliament : And, the same Year, the House of Commons obliged King *Charles* the First, to pass an Act for excluding the Bishops from their Seats in Parliament, and having any temporal Jurisdiction ; because they had too strong an Attachment to the King, and had persecuted the Puritans. That Monarch was content to lose his Life, rather than consent to the Abolition of Episcopacy : And, as the Bishops had suffered so much for their Adherence to the Royal Family, it was incumbent upon *Charles* the Second to restore the Hierarchy, and discountenance Presbytery.

ALL the Royalists were zealous for the Episcopal Doctrine ; and it was a Matter of Policy, as well as of Justice, to make it the established Religion : Though it was necessary to proceed with Caution, and gradually sap the Foundation of all the Sectarists. The legal
C Authority

A. D. Authority had not repealed the Laws whereby the
 1660. Bishops and Liturgy of the Church of *England* were
 established. The Parliament had some warm Debates
 concerning the Settlement of the Church ; and, at last,
 deferred the Examination of all religious Controversy to
 another Time ; after passing a Vote, in which they de-
 sired his Majesty to call such a Number of Divines, as
 he should think fit to advise with in Affairs of Religion.
 The Ministry intended to fortify the Power of the
 Crown, with the Influence of the Mitre : And, before
 the Recess of the two Houses, the King, by his Pre-
 rogative, restored all the old Bishops, who were living,
 to their Sees ; and came to a Resolution of filling up
 the Vacancies. The surviving Prelates were *Juxon* of
London, with those of *Bath and Wells*, *Oxford*, *Rocheſter*,
Salisbury, *Chicheſter*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Ely*, and
Bangor : To whom were added those of *Durham*, *Exeter*,
Cheſter, *Peterborough*, *Carlisle*, *St. David's*, and *Landaff*.
 The Prerogative was never exerted on a more justifiable
 Occasion : The Liturgy was re-admitted into the
 Churches : And all the ejected Clergy were restored
 to their Livings.

A FEW Days after the Adjournment of Parliament,
 the King published a Declaration, to preserve the Ap-
 pearance of Impartiality and Moderation between the
 Episcopalians and Presbyterians. It contained eight
 Articles ; importing, “ *That* his Majesty would provide
 such Bishops as would be frequent Preachers : *That* he
 would appoint a sufficient Number of suffragan Bishops :
That no Bishop should ordain, or exercise any Part of
 Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the
 Church, without the Advice and Assistance of the Pres-
 byters : *That* the Deans and Chapters should be assisted
 by an equal Number of Presbyters in the Exercise of
 the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction : *That* no Bishop should
 exercise any arbitrary Power : *That* an equal Number
 of Divines of both Persuasions should be appointed to
 revise the Liturgy, and to make such Alterations as
 should be thought necessary ; nor should any Person be
 punished or troubled for not using the Book of Com-
 mon-

mon-Prayer until it was reviewed and reformed : *That* A. D. 1662. all Ceremonies, if necessary to an entire Uniformity, should be left to the Advice of a National Synod, after those Jealousies were extinguished which made Men unfit for such Consultations : *That* no rigid Conformity should be used for Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, receiving the Cross in Baptism, bowing at the Name of *JESUS*, and using the Surplice : And *that* those Persons who should take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, should be permitted to exercise their Ecclesiastical Function, without conforming to the Subscription required by the Canon, and taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience." The King hereby assumed a Kind of legislative Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters ; and the Presbyterians began to apprehend they were not to remain long undisturbed, notwithstanding this apparent Moderation of the Crown : For the Declaration was thought only a temporary Condescension. They had received Directions to make their Proposals for an Union with the Episcopalians ; which they offered upon the Plan of Archbishop *Usher*, whereby the Fatherhood of Episcopacy, and the Brotherhood of Presbytery, were equally admitted. In Consequence of these Proposals, a Meeting of the Divines of both Persuasions was to have been held about the End of this Year : But it was declined by the Bishops till the Beginning of the next ; that the Court might first have an Opportunity of understanding the Strength and Sense of the Parliament. The King was for indulging the Sectarists and Papists : Which was opposed by the Presbyterians ; and therefore the Court laid the Design of restraining them as well as the others : Whereby the Expectation of a general Union in the Church of *England* was destroyed ; which then might have been accomplished, if there had been any Sincerity in the Proceedings of the spiritual Rivals.

THE Parliament re-assembled, on the 6th of *November*, when the Commons presented an Address of Thanks to the King for his late Declaration, " assuring him it had given general Satisfaction." The Lords

A. D. followed their Example : Nor were the Presbyterians
 1660. backward in thanking his Majesty for his gracious
 Concessions ; though, in fact, they were only delusive
 Promises. The great Work of the national Settlement
 was continued ; and, as every Thing relating to the
 Indemnity was dispatched, the Parliament applied their
 Care to put the King in a Condition to disband the
 Army, by establishing his Revenue, and granting him
 Supplies.

THE Revenue enjoyed by the late King, was found,
 upon Enquiry, to amount to less than 900,000 *l.* a Year ;
 of which 210,493 *l.* arose, partly by illegal Exactions,
 and partly by Taxes that were now expired. The
 Commons were of Opinion, " that the Misfortunes
 of that Monarch, and the consequent Miseries, were
 originally owing to his Want of Money : " But they still
 had Frugality in View, after they had increased the
 present Revenue to 1,200,000 *l.* a Year ; because they
 were afraid of rendering the King independent. The
 Court continued to alarm the Parliament with a Disso-
 lution : Upon which the Commons prodigally endea-
 voured to oblige the King, by increasing their late
 Grant of Tonage and Poundage, with one Half of the
 Produce of Excise, to him and his Successors for ever.
 The Ministry were not contented, and the Commons
 granted them the other Half of the Excise in the same
 Manner, as a Recompence for the Abolition of the Te-
 nure of Wards and Liveries, which were *Norman* In-
 stitutions, and had long given Offence to the Lovers
 of Liberty. By this Grant, the established Revenue had
 a settled Fund of about 870,000 *l.* a Year ; and there
 remained 330,000 *l.* a Year to be settled in the same
 Manner : Towards which, the Commons also granted
 the Revenue of the Post-Office, and Wine-Licence-
 Office, to the King and his Successors for ever. The
 former was at first farmed for 21,500 *l.* and afterwards
 for 50,000 *l.* a Year : And the latter produced 15,000 *l.*
 a Year. They also granted more Assessments, and
 some Arrears, for disbanding the Army. The Com-
 mons prepared a Bill for annexing *Dunkirk* to the
 Crown

Crown of *England* for ever ; but it was lost among the A. D. Lords, though the Chancellor acknowledged it had the ^{1660.} universal Approbation of the People.

ALL the Services of this Parliament could not protect them from a Dissolution ; while the Army continued to be quietly disbanded. The Ministry were jealous of a Parliament, which had so many Members of that of 1640, who were suspected to retain their old Principles concerning Kingly Power : And they looked upon this Parliament like Silk-worms, who were to spin their Threads, lay their Eggs, and die : While a new one was to be prepared, which it was presumed would be yet more favourable to those Court-Embrios, that were to be brought to Light in the Fulness of Time. The Parliament had subsisted but eight Months after the first Meeting, and seven after the King's Restoration ; yet it was to be dismissed at the End of the second Session : for which Purpose, the King came to the House of Lords on the 29th of *December*, to give the Royal Assent to several Acts, and to dissolve the Parliament.

THE Speaker of the House of Commons, in presenting the Bills for the Royal Assent, addressed his Majesty in a very courtly Strain, informing him, " That as the Poll-Bill, and the Assessment of 70,000 *l. per* Month, for disbanding and discharging the Forces by Sea and Land, had not done the Work, there were others ready ; the one intitled, An Act for levying the Arrears of the Twelve Months Assessment ; and the other intitled, An Act for the further supplying several Defects in the Act for disbanding the Forces. That in Consideration of the Charge of the Summer's Fleet, they had passed a Bill intitled, An Act for six Months Assessment at 70,000 *l. per Menssem*, to begin the First of *January*. That there were three other Bills relating to the Revenue, intitled, An Act for the better ordering the selling of Wines, &c. An Act for erecting and establishing a Post-Office. An Act for an Impost upon Ale, Beer, Cyder, and other Liquors, to hold for his Majesty's Life. That, as it was the Desire of his Commons, his Majesty might never be necessitated to resort

A. D. to extraordinary or unparliamentary Ways for raising
 1660. Money, they had passed another Bill, for raising
 — 70,000 *l.* for his Majesty's further Supply. That there
 were other Bills of Public Concernment, intitled, An
 Act for Attainder of several Persons guilty of the horrid
 Murder of King *Charles* the First. An Act for Confir-
 mation of Leases and Grants for Colleges and Hospi-
 tals, which would tend much to the quieting of Men's
 Estates. An Act to prohibit the Exportation of Wool
 and Fuller's Earth; which would be an Encourage-
 ment to the ancient Staple Trade of the Kingdom.
 An Act for prohibiting the Planting, Setting, or Sow-
 ing of Tobacco in *England* or *Ireland*; which would im-
 prove the Plantations Abroad, and increase the Ship-
 ping at Home. That there was another Bill, intitled,
 An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Li-
 veries, together with Tenure in Capite, Knights Ser-
 vice, and Purveyances, and for settling a Revenue
 upon his Majesty in Lieu thereof, which might be pro-
 perly called a Bill of Exchange. But that they should
 not look upon the Considerations mentioned in this
 Bill, as a full Compensation for his Majesty's parting
 with two such Royal Prerogatives, and ancient Flowers
 of the Crown, if more were not implied than was ex-
 pressed. For his Tenures in Capite were not only turn-
 ed into a Tenure of Soccage; which, alone, would
 give him a just Right and Title to the Labour of their
 Plows, and the Sweat of their Brows; but they were
 likewise turned into a Tenure in Corde. What his
 Majesty had before in his Court of Wards, he would
 be sure to find in the Exchequer of all his People's
 Hearts. He said, they had nothing more to offer or
 to ask; but must conclude, with a thankful Acknow-
 ledgment of God's Goodness in restoring his Majesty
 to his Royal and Imperial Crown and Dignity; as also
 for making him the Restorer of their Religion, and
 their *Magna Charta* Liberties."

HIS Majesty then gave the Royal Assent to the
 above-mentioned Acts; and, in his Turn, addressed
 both Houses in a Speech from the Throne, in the fol-
 lowing

lowing Manner: "That perfunctory Thanks, or-A. D. ordinary Thanks for ordinary Civilities, were easily 1660. given; but when the Heart was as full as his, it was a Labour to thank them! That they had outdone all the good and obliging Acts of their Predecessors towards the Crown. That many former Parliaments had particular Denominations for what they had done: They had been stiled learned and unlearned; and sometimes had worse Epithets: He prayed them to resolve, that this be for ever called the *healing, and the blessed Parliament*. That he should not more propose any one Rule to himself in his Actions and Councils than this, *What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or this Council?* and it should be a Want of Understanding in him, if it would not bear that Test. That he imputed the good Disposition and Security they were all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion: And they might be sure he would not only observe it religiously and inviolably himself, but also exact the Performance of it from others; and, if ever any Person should have the Boldness to attempt to persuade him to the contrary, he would find such an Acceptation from him, as he would have, who should persuade him to burn *Magna Charta*, cancel all the old Laws, and to erect a new Government after his own Direction and Appetite."

As it was now customary for the King to give the Text in his Speech, the Chancellor was to give the Comment; and his Lordship, in a long Harangue, consisting of Variety of Matter, applauded the Wisdom of the Parliament in the King's Restoration; and extolled the King's Care in the Restoration of the languishing Church to Peace, in which, he assured them, *Constantine* himself had hardly spent so much of his own Time in private and public Conferences to that Purpose. He freely told them, "That they were too partial to *England*, who believed it the best Country in the World: There was better Earth, better Air, and a warmer Sun in other Countries: But he was not unjust when he said, that *England* was an Inclosure of the

A. D. best People in the World, *when they were well informed*
1660. *and instructed.*" Therefore he desired the House of
 Commons, in their Return Home, to assure the People,
 " That his Majesty thought himself the happiest and
 greatest Prince in the World, not from the Situation of
 his Dominions, and the Power of his great Navy, with
 which he could visit his Neighbours, and keep them
 from visiting him; or from the noble Revenue they
 had settled upon him; but from being possessed of the
 Affections and Hearts of such Subjects: That he so
 entirely loved, and depended upon them, that all his
 Actions, and all his Councils, should tend to no other
 End, but to make them happy and prosperous, as he
 thought his Honour and Interest principally to consist
 in providing for, and advancing, the Honour and In-
 terest of the Nation. But, notwithstanding all this Care
 and Tenderness of his Majesty, there were still some
 Men, who, by their Writings and Preachings, endea-
 voured to continue the former Breaches; and some others
 had been so dangerous to the public Peace, that they
 had lately been secured in Prison." He then acquaint-
 ed them, " That there was a Party of the late dis-
 banded Officers and Soldiers, and others, full of Dis-
 content and seditious Purposes, had a Resolution to
 attempt the Change of the present Government, and
 to erect the Republic. That a Rising was intended in
 the West under *Ludlow*; and in the North under others:
 But that *London* was the Scene of greatest Hope, where
 they made sure of a Body of 2500 Men, with which
 they designed to secure the Duke of *Albemarle*, and
 possess themselves of *Whitehall*: But that this Conspi-
 racy was detected, and this insupportable Calamity
 God had again diverted from them." However, he
 indicated, " That some desperate Insurrections and At-
 tempts would be made in several Parts of the King-
 dom within a short Time; which all possible Care
 would be taken to prevent. Therefore, no Man would
 wonder if his Majesty was desirous his Militia, in all
 Places, was in good Order and Preparation; and that
 he would be constrained to establish it for the present,

as formerly his Predecessors had done." That his Majesty was returned without being corrupted, or biased, ^{1660.} by extraordinary foreign Obligations; and that even his Defects and Infirmities were very necessary towards the full Measure of the Prosperity of his People." And, in Conclusion, by the King's Command, he declared the present Parliament dissolved.

THE Court had several Reasons for dissolving this Parliament: Though the Chancellor detested the Maxims of the Parliament of 1640, for making the King arbitrary, and rejected a Plan for settling two Millions a Year on his Majesty, and his Successors. Such a Proposal was made by Mr. *Popham*: but the Chancellor said, "The best Revenue his Majesty could have, was the Affection of his Subjects; and, if he would trust them, he would never want necessary Supplies." He knew the Success of such a Scheme would be the Ruin of the Kingdom; and, with equal Policy and Integrity, crushed it in its Birth; because he wisely foresaw, that it would give a violent Blow to the Constitution, by placing the King in such a Situation as must render him independent of the Parliament. But it is pretended, that this Opposition to such a favourite Scheme of the Courtiers, was afterwards one of the principal Causes of the Disgrace of this able and honest Minister.

THE two Houses were not pliable enough to drop their Claim to the Militia; nor were they willing to gratify all the Expectations of the King. They had passed some Bills for the Encouragement of Commerce; and, to their immortal Honour, imitated *Cromwell* in the worthiest Action of his Life, by framing the great Act for the encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation, like that made in 1651. This celebrated Act * bears Date the First of *December*, and is as much essential to the Trade of *Great-Britain*, as *Magna Charta* is to its Liberties: For it deprives Foreigners
of

* See Vol. II. p. 316. See also *Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, under the Article *Navigation*, where this important Act is particularly recited.

A. D. of the Benefit of Importation ; and secures the Trade of 1660. *Britain*, and its Plantations, alone to *Britons*. It must be confessed, that the Statute of the 12th of King *George* the Second, for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars of the Produce of the *British* Plantations directly to foreign Parts, was some Innovation upon this Act, which confines the Importation of Commodities of the Growth of the *British* Colonies entirely to *England* : But, as this Act is only to be in Force till the 1st of *September* 1757, it seems as if the Legislature intended it should be no Precedent for other Indulgencies of the same Nature. It should also be considered, that, though the Abolition of the Court of Wards was a very constitutional and necessary Act, it was a Hardship upon the trading Part of the People ; because the poor Tradesmen, Manufactures, and Labourers, and in a great Measure they alone were saddled with a heavy Tax, in Compensation for what could never have affected any other than the Rich and Great. It was the giving of 300,000 *l.* a Year for 100,000 *l.* that was intended to be raised on Land ; “ so that the House, says Mr. *Hampden*, was justly blamed, and will be so, as ill Husbands for the Kingdom, and unfaithful to their Trust :” Which made another eminent Statesman undertake to make it appear, that this Grant was the giving away the Barley-Land of *England*. Besides, the Stop put to the Bill, for annexing *Dunkirk* to the Crown, seemed an extraordinary Proceeding, to those who had not considered, that this Town was looked upon as a marketable Commodity, which might be either pawned, or sold, for ready Money at any Time : And it was an Event that soon after took Place.

THE King would not be contented ’till he had the Militia in his own Hands, and the Bishops were restored to their Seats. The Parliament were liberal, but not lavish in their Supplies ; nor were they for throwing up the Liberties of the Nation : But this *healing, blessed Parliament* was dissolved, after sitting Eight Months : Though that which succeeded them, continued sitting Eighteen Years ; and was branded with the Name of the

the *Pensionary* Parliament, for their Subserviency to the A. D. Court. 1660.

THE Army was disbanded about the same Time as the Parliament was dissolved : For as the Money was raised, the Troops were broke by Lots, by six Lords and six Commoners, who acted as Commissioners under the Authority of an Act of Parliament : And the Fortifications of several Towns were demolished. There were disbanded in *England and Wales*, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, and Thirteen Regiments of Horse; in all 25,000 Men, besides the General's Life Guard of Horse, consisting of 200 Men; and about Fifty Garrisons, containing 5000 Men. But the King thought that a Body of Veteran Soldiers were the best Supporters of Royalty; and, though his Predecessors had no other than the Yeomen of the Guards, established by *Henry the Seventh*, he was desirous of retaining a *Body-Guard*, in Imitation of the Practice in *France*, and other Kingdoms. He therefore retained a Regiment of Horse, and *Monk's* Regiment of Foot, with some other Troops for Garrisons, amounting in all, to about 5000 Men : Which was the first Appearance of a regular standing Army in *England*, under the Monarchy. It gave Uneasiness to the People, as it was evidently Unconstitutional : But it was continued, and augmented, 'till the Parliament were obliged to complain that a standing Army was a National Grievance. Thus the Republican Army, which had been eighteen Years the Terror of *England*, was disbanded in a few Months. They were paid all their Arrears, and allowed a Liberty of exercising Trades in corporate Places; which, says *Ludlow*, was the Reward they received for their Services, notwithstanding the fair Promises both of *Monk* and the King. But, the Root of another Army was fixed on its Ruins, as an alarming Novelty to the Nation. And thus, continues that open Republican, these Men who had accumulated Treachery upon Treachery, were dismissed with Infamy: For, the very Acknowledgement that was made by the King, that they had been the chief Instruments of his Return; reproached them with Infidelity to the Parliament; and their

A. D. their own Desires to be absolved from the Guilt of their former Actions, was a Confession that they had been Rebels to the King. However, the Dissipation of these Men was not caused by the King's Aversion to a standing Army; for the whole Course of his Life demonstrated the contrary; but being persuaded, they, who had already made so many Changes in *England*, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little Consideration as they had brought him in: He thought it both safe and necessary to free himself at once from such dangerous Companions. "Kennet tells us, that the King, by way of Largess, complimented every Officer and Soldier with a Week's Pay; and they were so much transported, as to declare, "They would willingly disband, and as willingly take up Arms, or do whatsoever else should best redound to his Majesty's Service."

THE Queen Mother, though she was Daughter of Henry the Fourth of *France*, and Aunt of Lewis the Fourteenth, had so small a Pension allowed her by the *French* Court, that Cardinal de Retz says, when he waited on her one Morning, she informed him that her Daughter the Princess *Henrietta* was obliged to lie in Bed for want of a Fire to warm her. Her Majesty arrived in *November* from *France*, with the Princess *Henrietta*, and the Prince *Palatine Edward*, Brother to Prince *Rupert*. Some Authors pretend, she had two principal Points in view: The one was, to draw the King into the Interest of *France* against *Spain*; and the other, to persuade him to remove the Chancellor: But she succeeded in neither at present. It is certain, she proposed to the King, the Marriage of the Princess *Henrietta*, with the Duke of *Orleans*, to which she found no Obstacle. And it is asserted, that she endeavoured to persuade the King to marry *Hortensia Mancini*, Niece to Cardinal *Mazarine*; which Proposal was so coldly received, that she advised her Son to think of concluding a Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*; and he followed that Advice.

WHILE the Duke of *York* was Abroad he had won the

the Affections of Lady *Anne Hyde*, the Daughter of the Lord Chancellor, and a Woman of the most distinguished Accomplishments, who had privately admitted him to her Bed, under a solemn Promise of Marriage, which was contracted at *Breda*, on the 24th of *November*, 1659. The young Lady proved with Child, and her Pregnancy appeared soon after the Restoration; when some of the Courtiers were for dissuading the Duke from so unequal an Alliance: But the King, in Pity to his faithful Friend, and uncorrupted Minister, prevailed upon his Brother to shew his Subjects an early Example, that no Dignity should make a Man ashamed of performing his Engagements. In Consequence of which, the Marriage was solemnized in a private Manner, at *Worcester-House*, on the 3d of *September*, at Night, by the Duke's Chaplain. From this Marriage sprung two illustrious Princesses: The one named *Mary*, born on the 30th of *April* 1662; and the other named *Anne*, born on the 6th of *February*, 1665; both of whom ascended the Throne, after it had been pusillanimously deserted by their imprudent Father.

THE Fortifications were also razed, and the Forces disbanded, in *Scotland*; which were three Regiments of Foot, and two of Horse, with thirteen Garrisons. But the King entertained little Regard for the People of that Kingdom, now he was upon the Throne of *England*, which made him doubly Master of *Scotland*: First, because he was her natural King, and had even been crowned there: Secondly, because the *Scotch* had been conquered by the *English*. His Majesty restored *Scotland* to its ancient Form of Government; but wanted the Abolition of Presbyterianism there, as well as in *England*.

THE Earl of *Glencairn* was made Lord Chancellor; the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord Treasurer; the Earl of *Cassils*, Justice General; the Earl of *Lauderdale*, first Secretary of State; and General *Middleton*, the King's Commissioner. The *Scotch* were hereby restored to the State they were in before the Troubles in 1637: But they soon found they had lost all their Power, and were to be treated

A. D. treated as a conquered People under their King, as well
 1660. as under the Protector.

THE King had not promised the *Scotch* such an Indemnity as he had insured to the *English*; and it was determined to make *Archibald Campbel*, Marquis of *Argyle*, a Victim to the Royal Resentment, though the King, about ten Years before, had offered to marry his Daughter. He was arrested as he was repairing to *London* to pay his Duty to the King, sent to the *Tower*, and from thence to *Edinburgh*, where the *Scotch* Parliament assembled on the 12th of *December*; before whom he was tried for his Compliance with the Usurpation. He was treated with much Severity, and condemned as a Traitor, for his servile Complaisance to the King. He was beheaded on the 27th of *May*, 1661, when he behaved with great Courage and Fortitude; and would have been generally lamented, if the Fate of *Montrose* had not been recent in the Minds of his Countrymen. That unhappy Nobleman was condemned by the *Scotch* Parliament for his Breach of the National Covenant; and *Argyle* now suffered for the adhering to that Engagement. However, his Son, *Archibald*, Lord *Lorne*, obtained a Gift of the Forfeiture, and was restored to the Title, because his Loyalty had always been unshaken: But, in 1685, his Son was brought to the Scaffold, for endeavouring to preserve the Liberties of his Country, while his Countrymen coincided with the Views both of Popery and Tyranny.

THE Government of *Ireland* was committed to Sir *Maurice Eustace* the Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of *Orrery* and *Montrath*, in quality of Lords Justices, till a Lord-Lieutenant should be appointed. In this Manner was the Restoration accomplished; and the Power of the Crown began to gain daily upon the Affections of the People, which ran in too strong a Current to be suddenly checked: But we shall find that, in the Course of twenty Years, it had like to have been swallowed up by the almost irresistible Tide of Royalty.

A. D. BEFORE we enter farther into this Reign, it is ne-
 1661. cessary to take a View of those Parties which had their
 Rise

Rise then, and have continued ever since. Upon the ^{A. D.} Accession of King *James* the First to the Crown of *Eng-1661.* *land* in 1603, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and a few others, desired he might be confined to some Articles of Government: But their Design was frustrated by *Cecil*, and the other Ministers, in the same Manner as the Intention of the Presbyterians was frustrated by the Royalists, on the Restoration of *Charles* the Second. It is true, the King acted with as much Justice as *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, in restoring the Royalists to those Estates of which they had been deprived by *Cromwell* who behaved like *Nicoles*, the Tyrant of *Sicyon*. But a Spirit of Venality was soon discovered at Court: For, even at *Breda*, the House of Commons, and the City of *London*, made their Peace with large Offerings of Money; and private Delinquents had Recourse to the same Method of purchasing Pardon. The Papists wanted a Toleration, and offered 100,000*l.* by their Agent, the Lord Viscount *Stafford*, for that Indulgence: And a Bill was brought into the House of Commons, after the Restoration, for that Purpose; but dropt upon Opposition of Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. The Presbyterians, and other Dissenters offered 500,000*l.* for an Act of Parliament to confirm them in their Grants and Purchases, of Crown and Ecclesiastical Lands, for Ninety-nine Years. Therefore, from the clashing Interests of many different Parties, it was not easy for the People to enjoy a perfect Reconciliation.

THE first Rise of those Parties, which have been so prejudicial to the Happiness of *England*, began in the Reign of *James* the First: It was then asserted, by the Court Parasites, "That Monarchy, and lineal Succession, were of divine Institution; and consequently sacred and inviolable. The King himself declared, that the Privileges of Parliament were derived from the Grace and Permission of his Ancestors, and liable to be retrenched at the Will of the Prince. It was also said, the Liberties and Privileges of the People were but so many Concessions or Extortions from the Crown; and Dr. *Cowell*, in a Book published in 1609, with the Royal Licence,

A. D. 1661. License, had the Irreverence to declare the King was not bound by the Laws, or by his Coronation-Oath : while others of his Brethren prostituted the Pulpit, by ridiculously endeavouring to prove, from Texts of Scripture, Passages out of the Homilies, and the Practice of the primitive Christians, that the People had no other Refuge left, under the most cruel Tyranny, but Prayers and Tears :” So that Subjects ought either actively to obey the Commands of the King, or passively submit to his Will.”

THIS Doctrine was strange to those who valued Liberty, and knew the Constitution of *England*, who declared, “ That most of the *European* Nations, and *England* in particular, were originally all limited Monarchies ; having their several Constitutions, or fundamental Laws, whereby the regal Power was limited ; among which Limitations were generally the two great Articles, That no Laws could be made, nor any Money levied, without Consent of the States. The *Saxons* saw, That to live by one Man’s Will, became the Cause of all Men’s Misery ; which constrained them to come into Laws, wherein all Men might see their Duties beforehand, and know the Penalties of transgressing them. Men always knew, that when Force and Injury was offered, they might be Defenders of themselves : They knew, that howsoever Men might seek their own Commodity ; yet, if this was done with Injury to others, it was not to be suffered ; but by all Men, and all good Means, to be withstood. Thus in *England*, co-eval with the Monarchy, there has always been a Constitution ; that is, a System of Laws, Institutions, and Customs, according to which the King is obliged to govern, and the Subjects to obey. The King, in his Coronation-Oath, as much swears to the People, as the People swear to the King ; of which *Henry* the Fifth was so sensible, that he told his Parliament, it was not reasonable they should swear to be faithful to him, before he himself had taken a solemn Oath to govern them according to Law. It was maintained, that when the King acts in conformity to the Laws, he ought not to be resisted on any Pretence :

Pretence : But if he violates the fundamental Laws of A. D. the Realm, and endeavours to subvert the Constitution, 1681. he may be resisted and even deposed. That lineal Succession and hereditary Right, had no Foundation in Nature, nor were ever appointed by God, but were first introduced by Communities, where Kingly Government prevailed, to prevent Confusion and Strife : Therefore, the Successions may be altered and transferred from one Branch of Family to another, or to a new Family, when called for by the supreme Law, and the Safety of the People.

THE Republicans smothered their Sentiments in the Reign of *James* the First, under an external Zeal for the Constitution and Privileges of the People. They were called *Puritans*, from their Desire of a purer Religion, as they termed it ; such as the reformed Churches of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *Geneva* : But this Party was inconsiderable, till the Courtiers stigmatized all those with the Name of *Puritan*, who disbelieved the divine, unalienable, hereditary, independent Right of Kings, and were for prescribing Bounds to the Royal Prerogative. The King affected the Language of an arbitrary Monarch ; and all his Courtiers, with great Part of the Clergy, exalted his Notions of Prerogative : Which brought all the Opposers of arbitrary Power, and Friends to the Constitution, to form a Party against the Court. So that the Foundation of the Civil Wars, and of all the Party-Distinctions which have since existed in the Nation, was laid in the impolitic Reign of *James* the First.

It should be observed, that the general Term of *Puritan*, given by the ministerial Tools to those who asserted the National Privileges, occasioned the Distinction of *State* and *Church Puritans*. The former were the same with those since called *Whigs* ; and the latter came to be included in the general Name of *Dissenters* : While those who asserted the divine Right of Kings, acquired the Denomination of *Tories*.

DURING the first fifteen Years of the Reign of King *Charles* the First, continual Breaches were made in the
Con-

A. D. Constitution, and the Liberties of the Nation invaded, 1661. while the King imagined he was only defending his Prerogative. He fatally adhered to his Father's absurd Principles of Government, which were also espoused by a Party whom he esteemed Friends to the Church and State : But were opposed by a Party whom he looked upon as Enemies to the Church and Monarchy. Lord *Clarendon*, in a very few Pages, has shewn all the illegal Proceedings of this Reign ; and they were enough to justify an Opposition to the King ; which made the *Puritan* Party daily increase, and prompted many Patriots to rescue the Constitution from entire Destruction.

AN Attempt to introduce the *English* Church-Discipline into *Scotland*, occasioned a War to break out between the King and his Subjects of that Nation ; in which *England* was unconcerned. The *English* Parliament would have assisted the King, if he had redressed their Grievances : But, after imprudently ruling without them twelve Years, he rashly dissolved them after a Session of three Weeks. However, his Necessities soon obliged him to call another Parliament, in which the State Puritans had greatly the Majority over the Court ; being Men attached to the Constitution as well in Church as State, and Enemies only to the Abuse of Power in both, which they wanted to reform.

THE King redressed the Grievances of both Nations : But the *English* Parliament presented their Remonstrance to him, which occasioned a Division among themselves ; as it was also printed, and directed to the People, to whom it was a Sort of Appeal for bounding the Prerogative, and may justly be considered as the first Breach between the King and Parliament.

FROM this Time, two Parties arose, as well in the Nation, as in both Houses of Parliament. The one was satisfied with what the King had done ; and the other wanted him to do more : While the Professors of the Law, were excited to demolish the Jurisdiction of the Church : The Affair of the Militia was the immediate Cause of the Rupture between the King and Parliament : The Civil War broke out ; and then arose the

the Distinctions of Royalists and Parliamentarians, Cavaliers and Roundheads: But the Members of each Party were far from being united in Principles and Opinions. The Royalists partly consisted of such Persons, as were tainted by the Court, the Clergy, and the Universities, with a Belief of the divine Right of Kings, and the Doctrine of Passive Obedience: To these were added the *Roman* Catholics: But those who principally assisted the King, were they who were Friends to the Constitution, and had been for restraining the Prerogative within the Bounds prescribed by the Law; though now they were for relying on the Sincerity of the King, after he had convinced them of his Intention to redress the Grievances of the People. The Parliamentarians were chiefly formed of those who suspected the Principles of the King, and were resolved to have a full Limitation of the Prerogative: But they were guided by the Republicans and Independents; with all the Friends of Presbytery, and all the Enemies of Episcopacy, who pretended only to confine the Power of the Crown, till they had an Opportunity of destroying the Monarchy.

THE Royalists drew their Swords for the Church, the Laws, and the legal Rights of the Crown: While the Parliamentarians took up Arms in the Defence of their national Liberties. The King called in the *Irish* Papists to his Assistance; and the Parliament invited the *Scotch* Presbyterians to unite with them; whereby the Establishment of the Constitution on a solid and permanent Foundation was prevented. The Covenant, for extirpating Episcopacy, was entered into between the Parliament of *England* and the Kirk of *Scotland*; after which the Independents, with *Cromwell* at their Head, defeated the *Scotch* Army, purged the Presbyterian Parliament, destroyed the King, and enslaved the People.

THUS the Constitution, both in Church and State, was entirely subverted; instead of the national Grievances being redressed: Nor were Fundamentals restored on the Restoration. Two signal Opportunities were

A. D. were lost of settling the Constitution on durable Foundations: The *one*, at the End of the Civil Wars, when *Charles* the First was ready to comply with any Methods for securing the national Liberties: And the *other*, at the Restoration, when *Charles* the Second would have readily submitted to such Limitations as should have been thought necessary for the Prevention of future Abuses of Power.

THE *English*, at this Time were a plain, perhaps a rough, but a good-natured hospitable People. They were too prodigal in their Concessions to the new King: But we shall soon find them jealous of their Liberties, and able, as well as ready, to defend them, with their Tongues, their Pens, and their Swords. The Restoration began to turn Hospitality into Luxury, Pleasure into Debauch, and Country Peers and Country Commoners, into Courtiers and Men of Mode. But while this Luxury was young, it was little more than Elegance. The Debauch of the Age was enlivened with Wit, and varnished over with Gallantry. The Courtiers, and Men of Mode, knew what the Constitution was, respected it greatly, and asserted it frequently. So that, when the new Courtiers had run too great a Length, they were seasonably checked by the old Patriots: Which brought on the Distinction of *Tories* and *Whigs*; as will be seen before the Sequel of this Reign.

THE King had been restored to his Crown, without any other Terms, than the Promise of a general Pardon, and Liberty of Conscience. Instead, therefore, of improving the Juncture, and settling the Government on the Foundations of Liberty: Instead of fixing the Bounds of the Prerogative, and securing the Rights of the People agreeable to the ancient Constitution; the same Principles of Civil and Ecclesiastical Power, which had been maintained by King *James*, and pursued by King *Charles* the First, so as to throw the Nation into Wars and Confusion, were not only revived with more Strength than ever, but received the Sanction of a legal Establishment! Hereditary Right was acknowledged,
the

the Doctrine of Non-Resistance revived, the Prerogative more than ever extended, and the Parliament was continued almost eighteen Years; which lavishly yielded every Thing to the Son, that had been scrupulously denied to his Father. A. D. 1661.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Declaration from *Breda*, it was resolved at Court to ruin the Presbyterians, and to have their Promise broke regarding Religion, under a Pretence of securing the State. For this Purpose, it was found necessary to range all the different Sectaries under one general Denomination of *Dissenters*, or *Non-Conformists*: which included the Presbyterians, as well as the Papists, Anabaptists, and Independents. The first Occasion was to be taken of punishing the Whole, when a Fault could be imputed to any one, that might corroborate the Opinion that the Sectaries were dangerous to the Government; and an Opportunity soon presented itself.

SOME of the Fanatics and Enthusiasts, of which *Oliver Cromwell* composed his Army, had distinguished themselves by the Name of *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, or *Millenarians*; who were properly Anabaptists; and their Principles were sufficiently known from the Tragedies acted, by their Brother-Zealots, at *Munster*, and other Places of *Germany*. Bishop *Burnet* says, "They thought it not enough to believe that *Christ* was to reign on Earth, and to put the Saints in Possession of the Kingdom; but that the Saints were to take the Kingdom themselves; and some of them seemed persuaded that *Christ* would come down and head them." Bishop *Parker* says, "He might call these a new Species of fanatic Monsters, if *Africa* had not formerly produced its *Circumcellians*, and *Germany* her *Anabaptists*." They took their Rise from the very Dregs of *Cromwell's* Rebellion, and were very troublesome to him while he was Protector. They had been kept under for some Time: But the Year 1661 was ushered in by an uncommon Insurrection among a desperate Party of these Enthusiasts in *London*, while the King was attend-

A. D. ing the Queen-Mother and the Princess *Henrietta* to
 1661. *Dover*, in their Return to *France*.*

A BODY of these Men frequented a Conventicle in *Coleman-Street*, where their Imaginations were inflamed by the frantic Lectures of *Thomas Venner*, a Wine-Cooper come over from *New-England*, who had frequently conspired against *Cromwell*, and had been committed with others in 1658, to the *Gatehouse*. He promised the same Things to his Followers as if he had been a Prophet sent down from Heaven; and they looked upon him like another *Mahomet*; conceiving themselves invulnerable and invincible, as they were to form the Body-Guard of their King *Jesus*, who they thought was to return to the World, and erect for himself a *Fifth-Monarchy*, which was to be established by the universal Slaughter of the Wicked. They were so infatuated with their Notions, that they thought not only of easily conquering so large and populous a City, but even the whole World beside. The 6th of *January* was the Day appointed for their rash Enterprize, when they issued forth into the Streets of *London*, in the Evening, to the Number of sixty, well armed, and headed by *Venner*. They proclaimed King *Jesus* for their invincible Leader: Every one at first fled before them; and they killed a Man in *St. Paul's Churchyard*, who, being questioned, said, "He was for God and King *Charles*." This alarmed the Magistrates, who assembled some Trained-Bands; but the Rioters defeated them, and made a regular Retreat to *Cane-Wood* between *Highbate* and *Hampstead*. They were dislodged from thence by a Detachment of Soldiers sent by *Monk*, and some of them were taken Prisoners; while the rest returned to *London*, and took Sanctuary in a House, where they defended themselves with a Mixture of Valour and Madness, till *Venner* was wounded, and twenty Men killed, which obliged the Remainder to surrender, after they had killed about twenty of their Assailants. They were tried, condemned, and executed before their Conventicle, on the 17th of *January*, without

* See Vol. II. p. 356 and 376.

out any Confession of Guilt, and persisting in their A. D.
Extravagances to the last. 1661.

It is no difficult Matter for Men in Power to find Pretences of Justice in satisfying their own Resentments. The Design was formed for imposing the same Rigor upon the Presbyterians, as upon the other Sectaries, and this Insurrection of the Anabaptists was greedily embraced for shewing the Animosity which the Ministry bore to the Presbyterians. This Commotion of *Venner* was urged by the Court to confirm the Rumours of a Conspiracy against the Government. The King, on the 10th of *January*, published a Proclamation, forbidding *all* Meetings, and Conventicles, under Pretence of Religion; commanding the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be tendered to all Persons disaffected to the Government; and, in Case of Refusal, they were to be prosecuted on the Statute of the 7th of *James* the First. The Presbyterians only were properly aimed at by this Proclamation: For the Independents and Anabaptists made then too inconsiderable a Figure to render them fearful to the Ministry: Nor is it easy to believe, that a King, who had privately embraced the *Romish* Religion, would turn Prosecutor of the Catholics. In Fact, the Name of *Non-Conformists* should be considered as a very ambiguous Term, invented to save the Honour of the King, when he was openly evading the Promises he had made in the Declaration of *Breda*. It was a Term, indeed, which signified Men who would not conform to the Church of *England*: But it should not be taken in the Sense which was given it; that is, of a Body of Men inseparably united, composed of all the Sectaries, acting with one common View, and for the Sake of one general Interest.

THE Presbyterians were alarmed at being thus unexpectedly confounded with the other Sectaries, and their Ministers endeavoured to procure a national Synod, to debate upon religious Matters, and revise the Liturgy, in Conjunction with the Bishops, and other Divines of the Established Church. This was more than the Court intended to grant, and more than the

A. D. King promised by his Declaration after the Adjournment of the *Healing* Parliament. However, his Majesty issued a Commission, for examining into these Ecclesiastical Differences, and the Objections made by the Presbyterians to the Book of Common-Prayer; with Power to make such Alterations and Amendments as should be thought expedient for giving Satisfaction to tender Consciences. The Commissioners were twelve Bishops, and twelve Leaders among the Presbyterian Ministers, who all acted as Principals; to whom were joined nine of the Clergymen on each Side, as Assistants. Their Conference was held at the Bishop of London's House, in the *Savoy*, on the 25th of *March*: But it soon appeared, that religious Disputes concerning Forms and Ceremonies, are carried on with more Inflexibility than any other; as Churchmen, on such Occasions, are seldom animated with a Spirit of Peace and Charity. The Presbyterian Ministers were not properly empowered by their Brethren, who were upwards of 2000, and the whole Body of their Sect, to act for their intended Comprehension with the Church of *England*. They wanted a Commission in Form from their absent Brethren; and it was with Difficulty they proceeded upon any Business at all. Both Sides had persecuted each other with Severity; the Remembrance of which contributed to their present Obstinacy. After much Altercation, it was agreed to make some slight Alterations in the Liturgy: But, at last, the Conference broke off without any Effect, and each Party threw the Blame upon the other. Mr. *Baxter* says, the Bishops were absolutely against all Concessions: But others say, the Presbyterians would not recede from a single Point; and shewed, that they considered as sinful, all the Forms and Practices of the Church of *England*, even to the Use of the Surplice. The ignorant Multitude were surprized, to see these grave Divines separate more confirmed in their several Prejudices, and more inflamed than ever in their Animosity, which had subsisted almost sixty Years. Thus the whole Nation was prevented from uniting in one Doctrine of Faith, and

one Form of Worship: But the Event was, that the A. D. Presbyterian Clergy were obliged to part with their 1661. Livings, and leave them to the Episcopalians.

THE Presbyterians were now more formidable than ever; and it was the Interest of the Episcopalians to reduce the Power of the opposite Party; as both together formed the Bulk of the Nation, and the former might still raise fresh Troubles in Church and State. Monarchy and Episcopacy became now as much exalted, as they had been lately depressed; and the Ministry took Care to assemble such a new Parliament as should take the Majority of the Commons from the Presbyterians; while the Bishops were restored to their Seats and Influence in the House of Lords.

THE Royalists and zealous Churchmen were so much become the Popular Party, that civil Distinctions seemed abolished, and the King was crowned during the Heat of the late theological Controversy. This Ceremony was magnificently performed in *Westminster Abbey*, by Dr. *Juxon*, Arch bishop of *Canterbury*, on the 23d of *April*, being *St. George's Day*; when the Regalia was disposed of to the following Noblemen, to be carried by them from *Westminster-Hall* to the *Abbey-Church*.

St. *Edward's Staff* to the Vice-Admiral *Montague*, Earl of *Sandwich*. The Spurs to the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Scepter with the Cross, to the Earl of *Bedford*. The pointed Sword, borne on the left Hand of *Courtana*, to the Earl of *Derby*. The pointed Sword, borne on the right Hand of *Courtana*, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. King *Edward* the Saint's Sword, called *Courtana*, to the Earl of *Oxford*. The Sword of State to the Earl of *Manchester*. The Scepter with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle*. The Orb with the Cross to the Duke of *Buckingham*. St. *Edward's Crown* to the Duke of *Ormond*. The Paten to the Bishop of *Exeter*; and Chalice to the Bishop of *London*.

THEN the King, with his Nobles, Officers, and Attendants, made their Procession, upon the blue Cloth spread on the Ground, from *Westminster-Hall* to the *Abbey-Church*; where his Majesty was received with this

A. D. 1661. Anthem : *I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord, &c. Psal. cxxii. 1, 4, 5, 6*

Verfes. Then, after some Ceremonies, this Anthem was fung by the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel : *Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy Right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.* After this, the King offered the Pall, and a Wedge of Gold of a Pound Weight, at the Altar ; when the Regalia were laid thereon, and the Bishop of London said this Prayer : *O God, who dost comfort us with thy Holy Spirit, send down thy Grace upon this thy Servant Charles, that by him we may feel thy Presence among us, through Jesus Christ.* Amen.

THE Bishop of Worcester then began his Sermon on these Words : *For the Transgression of a Land many are the Princes thereof : but, by a Man of Understanding and Knowledge, the State thereof shall be prolonged,* Prov. xxviii. 2. During the Sermon, his Majesty wore a Cap of crimson Velvet turned up with Ermine : But when it was ended, he uncovered his Head, and took the usual Oath : *To confirm the Law to the People, and namely, the Franchises granted to the Clergy by St. Edward the Confessor : To maintain the Gospel established in the Kingdom : To keep Peace, execute Judgment, and grant the Commons the rightful Customs.*

THEN followed this Hymn, *Come Holy Ghost, Eternal God, &c.* A Prayer for the King, and the Litany ; which being finished, and his Majesty seated in the Coronation Chair, the Archbishop of Canterbury anointed him, first in the Palms of his Hands, in Manner of a Cross, pronouncing these Words ; *Let these Hands be anointed with this holy Oil, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be King ; that thou mayest be blessed and established King in this Kingdom, and amongst this People, whom the Lord, thy God hath given thee to rule over.*

AFTER which, the Choir fung this Anthem : *Zadock the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King ; and all the People rejoiced, and said, God save the King.*

AT the End of the Anthem, the Archbishop said, A. D. *Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable Countenance, 1651. upon this glorious King, &c.* and then proceeded to anoint the King's Breast, between his Shoulders, and on both his Shoulders, the Bowing of his Arm, and Crown of his Head: Which being done, the Anointing was dried up with fine Linnen; and two short Prayers followed. Then the Dean of *Westminster* put on the Coif with the *Colobium Sindonis*, or Surplice, upon the King; whereupon the Archbishop prayed, saying, O God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do reign, and Lawgivers do make good Laws, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy Favour, to bless this kingly Ornament, and grant thy Servant Charles, our King, who shall wear it, may shine in thy Sight with the Ornament of a good Life and holy Actions; and, after this Life ended, he may for ever enjoy that Life of Glory which hath no End, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE Tissue Hose, Sandals, and Super-Tunica, were then put upon the King. The Sword of State was received by the Archbishop from the Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Manchester*, and laid upon the Altar, and a Prayer made, *That it might be sanctified to defend Churches, Widows, Orphans, and all the Servants of God: and that it might be a Fear and Terror to all those that lie in wait to do Mischief.*

WHEN the Prayer was ended, the Archbishop and Bishops delivered the Sword to the King, saying, *Accipe Gladium per Manus Episcoporum*; whereupon the Lord Chamberlain girt it about the King, and the Archbishop said, *Receive this kingly Sword, which is hallowed for the Defense of the Holy Church, and delivered unto thee by the Hands of the Bishops, though unworthy, yet consecrated by the Authority of the Holy Apostles, &c.*

THEN successively the Armil and Mantle were put upon the King, St. Edward's Crown upon his Head, a Ring upon the Fourth Finger of his Right Hand, and into each Hand a Scepter; all which were severally consecrated by the Archbishop, as the *Colobium Sindonis* and Sword of State had been.

A. D. 1661. THEN the Archbishop and Bishops present did their Homage to the King, kneeling down before his Knees, and promising *to be faithful to him and his Heirs, Kings of England*; after which, they kissed the King's left Cheek.

THE Temporal Nobility next did the Homage also at the King's Knee, in these Words: *I A. R. do become your Liegeman of Life and Limb, and of earthly Worship, and of Faith and Truth I shall bear unto you, to live and die against all manner of Folks. So God me help.* Then they singly ascended the Throne, and touched the King's Crown; promising by that Ceremony *to be ready to support it with all their Power.*

THE King then went to the Altar, presented another Wedge of Gold, and received the Sacrament; after which an Anthem was sung, and the King put off St. Edward's Crown. The Imperial Crown was then put upon his Head, the Scepter with the Cross put into his Right Hand, and the Globe into his left: In this Manner he returned to *Westminster-Hall*, and indulged himself in great Festivity among his Nobles. For the greater Splendor of the Solemnity, the following Titles of Honour were conferred. Sir *Arthur Annesly*, was made Earl of *Anglesey*; Sir *John Greenville*, Earl of *Bath*; *Frederick Cornwallis*, Lord *Cornwallis*; Sir *George Booth*, Lord *Delamere*; Sir *Horatio Townshend*, Lord *Townshend*; Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Lord *Ashley* of *Winborne*; *John Crew*, Baron *Crew*; Sir *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carlisle*; *Denzil Holles*, Lord *Holles*; Sir *Edward Hyde*, Earl of *Clarendon*; *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, Earl of *Essex*; and *Thomas*, Lord *Brudenel*, Earl of *Cardigan*.

THE new Parliament assembled on the 8th of May; when his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses, much to the same Effect as what he had made to the last Parliament, on its Dissolution. He said, they might be as severe as they pleased, against new Offenders; but that he would not be persuaded to infringe the Act of Oblivion. And concluded, by informing them of his intended Marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal*, which had been resolved with the Approbation of his whole Council.

Council. The Lord Chancellor *Clarendon* enlarged on A. D. the Speech made by his Majesty ; complaining also of ^{1661.} seditious Sermons, whose Licence it was necessary to curb ; and strongly aggravating the late Insurrection of *Venner*, by intimating that there were Reasons to believe the Metropolis was in Danger of being burnt to Ashes.

THE Press had been already licensed, as it was by *Cromwell* in 1655 : But the Design of the Chancellor was to get a general Law against the Nonconformists. Nor was it ever discovered, that any others, besides *Venner* and his Companions, were concerned in the late Insurrection ; though, in 1666, the City of *London* suffered the most dreadful Calamity by a terrible Fire.

THE Representatives of this Parliament were elected by the Influence of the Court ; and the High-Church-Men had so much the Majority, that there were only Fifty-six Members of the Presbyterian Party in the lower House. The Majority were therefore such Assertors of the Prerogative, that they seemed literally to follow the Principles of Archbishop *Laud*, which had occasioned all the Troubles in the late Reign. The Commons were devoted to the Ministry ; and the Lords were not only rejoined by the Bishops, but had Ten new Peers among them, which were quietly admitted in the Reign of this King, though strongly opposed in the Reign of his Niece Queen *Anne*. If the King called the former by the Name of the *Healing Parliament* ; this, with equal Propriety, was called by the People the *Pensionary Parliament* ; because however honest they were at first, it afterwards appeared, that they received Pensions from the Court, and were packed by the Ministry. Let what will be said in their Favour, it is certain they continued almost Eighteen Years ; which made them also be stiled the *Long Parliament*, as justly as that of 1640 : The latter openly killed the King, and the former privately almost ruined the Kingdom, before they retracted their extravagant Maxims concerning the Royal Prerogative.

SIR *Edward Turner*, the Duke of *York*'s Solicitor General, was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons.

A. D. at the Recommendation of the Court. Both Houses
 1661. went in a Body to congratulate his Majesty for the Communication of his intended Marriage, which was soon after concluded, to the great Benefit of *Portugal*, and the small Interest of *England*. The Commons then ordered all their Members, as a kind of Test, to receive the Sacrament according to the Liturgy prescribed by the Church of *England*; upon Pain of being expelled the House; which was considered as a violent Blow upon the Presbyterians, who began to find themselves declining in Power much faster than they lately apprehended.

THE Parliament ordered the *solemn League and Covenant*, with the several Acts against his late and present Majesty, to be burnt by the public Hangman; which was a Matter of great Joy to the Populace. But it so much intimidated the Republicans, that they applied to the King for a Confirmation of his Act of Indemnity; to which he readily consented; and, on the 8th of *July*, came to the Parliament, when he passed an Act to confirm the late Act of Indemnity; as also an Act to empower the King to receive a free Contribution.

THE Parliament finished the Confiscation of the Estates of Twenty-one Regicides deceased: After which, they ordered that the Lord *Monson*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, and *Robert Wallop*, three Regicides whose Lives were spared, should be drawn upon Sledges, with Ropes round their Necks, to *Tyburn*, and from thence conveyed to the *Tower*, where they were to be imprisoned, during their Lives. They were accordingly taken to *Tyburn*, on the 30th of *January* following, as much to the Joy of the Populace as when the dead Bodies of *Cromwell* and three others were taken the 30th of *January* before.

SEVERAL Bills were ready for the Royal Assent, and his Majesty went to the House of Peers on the 30th of *July*, when he passed an Act for the Preservation of the King's Person and Government: Whereby it was declared High-Treason, to compass, imagine, or intend the King's Death, Destruction, or bodily Harm; to imprison, or depose him; to levy War against him, or stir up any foreign Power to invade him: That no Person should

should be capable of holding any Employment, who A. D. should publish or affirm his Majesty to be a Heretic, or ^{1661.} Papist, or that he endeavoured to introduce Popery : And that every Person should incur the Penalties of a *Præmunire*, mentioned in the Statute of the 16th of *Richard* the Second, who should affirm that the long Parliament was not dissolved ; that the Covenant was binding ; or that either, or both Houses of Parliament, had a Legislative Power without his Majesty. Another Act was also passed, to repeal the Law made in the 7th Year of *Charles* the First for the Exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Peers ; whereby the Prelates were restored to their former Dignity. An Act to declare the *sole Right of the Militia to be in the King* ; which was what the Parliament so much contended for with his Father. An Act to prevent Tumults and Disorders in presenting Petitions to the King and Parliament ; which had been attended with the worst Consequences in the preceeding Reign : But it was now enacted, that no Petition should be subscribed by any more than Twenty Hands, without the Sanction of three Justices, or the major Part of the grand Jury ; and that no Petition should be presented to the King or Parliament by above Ten Persons, under Penalty of 100*l.* and three Months Imprisonment. An Act to empower his Majesty to dispose of the Land Forces ; and Four other Acts of a less public Nature were also passed : After which, the Parliament was adjourned to the 20th of *November*.

DURING the Recess of Parliament, the Cavaliers, or Royalists, loudly murmured at the Act of Indemnity, and the City swarmed with Libels on this Subject ; which the King disregarded, because he knew the loyal Sufferers had a Right to complain. To suspend these Complaints, a Rumour was industriously propagated, that the Nonconformists were framing Plots and Projects against the King's Person and Government : But this was generally esteemed to be another Blow against the Presbyterians ; and it is certain, the Project of the Uniformity was now begun, which entirely ruined that Party. In the mean Time, the Earl of *Sandwich* was sent with a Fleet to *Lisbon*, to bring the Infanta to Eng-

A. D. *land*; as also to chastise the Insolence of the *Algerines*,
 1661. who despised his Menaces, and obliged him to return
 to *Lisbon*, without bringing them to those Terms of Sub-
 mission which Admiral *Blake* had boldly exacted from
 the *Tunisians*. But, in 1662, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*
 obliged them to a Peace with *England*.

THE Parliament assembled again, on the 20th of
November, pursuant to their Adjournment; and the
 King, without any Necessity, made a Speech to both
 Houses, wherein he desired, "they would not believe
 any loose Discourses of his giving away eighty thousand
 Pounds in a Morning; as he had it not in his Power
 to reward the Services of those who had been faithful
 to him and his Father. He said, there were many
 wicked Instruments, who laboured to disturb the public
 Peace; and that, if they found *new Diseases*, they must
 study *new Remedies*. Concluding with this Observation,
 'That the Difficulties which concerned Religion were
 too hard for him; and therefore he recommended
 them to their Care and Deliberation, who could best
 provide for them.'" But it is not very strange, that a
 Prince of his Character, who had secretly embraced
 the *Roman Catholic* Religion; or, to speak more pro-
 perly, had no Religion at all, should not think it a
 Point of Honour to support the *Presbyterians*, at the
 Hazard of losing the Affection of his new Parliament,
 where there was such a great Majority in Favour of
 the *High-Church*.

THE Power of the Sword had in all Ages been tacitly
 allowed to be vested in the Crown: But this Preroga-
 tive was not conferred by any Statute till at this Time;
 which was a very singular and dangerous Concession, as
 the Preamble to the Statute for investing the military
 Power in the King, went so far as to renounce all Right
 even of defensive Arms against the Crown. This was
 establishing the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, and implied
 a Renunciation of all Limitations in a monarchical Go-
 vernment. The Parliament was composed of zealous
 Royalists, and went great Lengths to oblige his Ma-
 jesty, with Hopes of repairing all the national Breaches.
 They imagined their new Sovereign would never un-

constitutionally invade those Liberties, which he was ^{A. D.} brought over to preserve from the Violation of Anarchy : ^{1661.} And, when they excluded their Right of Defence, it is natural to suppose, they conceived that the Constitution, while it remained firm on its Basis, could never be attacked by the Sovereign, except in Cases of extreme Necessity, which no Law could comprehend, and still left a Remedy in the Hands of the People upon such desperate Occasions. The Parliament also granted 1,200,000 *l.* for the present Supply of his Majesty : And the Ministry still endeavoured to bring them to a Belief that a dangerous Conspiracy was forming against the Government ; which was only like a Flash of Lightning to shew that the Thunder was ready to burst. A Committee of both Houses was appointed to examine into the Circumstances of this Plot : But were unable to make any Discovery : Not a single Person was prosecuted on this Account ; and yet it was the sole Foundation upon which the remarkable *Corporation-Act* ; the new *Act of Uniformity*, and all the Proceedings against the Non-Conformists, were built.

OLIVER CROMWELL had expelled all the Magistrates from the Corporations, whose Affection he suspected ; and the King was now empowered by the Parliament with the same Authority. For this Purpose, *An Act for regulating Corporations* was passed on the 20th of December ; whereby it was enacted, that every Officer in a Corporation, should be obliged, besides the common Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and a particular Declaration against the Covenant, to swear, “ That it was not lawful, upon any Pretence whatever, to take Arms against the King ; and that he abhorred the traiterous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those commissioned by him.” This Supposition, that the King was sole Master of the Government, was directly contrary to that of the Parliament of 1640, that the supreme Authority resided in the People, or their Representatives in Parliament : But they are both equally false and unconstitutional. If the Oath had imported, that it was
unlawful

A. D. 1661. unlawful to oppose the established Government, it would have been just and constitutional. The Words *commissioned by him*, when the Militia Bill was afterwards passed, were thought too defective by the Earl of *Southampton* in the House of Lords, and Sir *John Vaughan* in the House of Commons; both of whom moved that the Word *Lawfully* might be added: But the Earl of *Anglesey*, and Sir *Heneage Finch*, carried it against those Patriots.

MR. *Prynne*, who had suffered so remarkably for his Writings, under the Tyranny of *Laud*, and who was now Keeper of the Records, drew his Pen in Opposition to the *Corporation-Bill*: But the Paper was seized at the Press; and voted to be illegal, false, scandalous, and seditious; for which the Author, as a Member of the House, was severely reprimanded by the Speaker, who told him, he deserved to suffer all his Punishments over again. This Man lost his former Spirit, and now sunk under the Weight of the Times: In him sunk the Cause of his Party; and none of them afterwards attempted to defend it, unless in their legislative Capacity, which was of little Effect against a certain Majority. The Author of *The Detection of the Court and State of England* observes, this is one of the first Laws that ever was made to swear to Opinions and Belief: He seems to doubt whether there can be any such Thing as a negative assertory Oath as this is; and says, "Now what were the Grounds or Reason of the Corporation-Oath, which every one ought to swear to be true of his own certain Knowledge, before he believes it not to be lawful, on any Pretence, to take up Arms against the King? Or admit there might be Reason for this Belief; yet, if the Causes of this Belief were not known to the Taker of this Oath, so as he knows them to be true of his certain Knowledge, this Oath, if any, is Perjury." However, the same Oath was imposed by the *Militia-Act*, and *Act of Uniformity*; whereby the military and ecclesiastical Persons were bound as well as the civil: On which Account Mr. *Locke* said, "that the Corporations were made to swear to a Declaration and

and Belief of such Propositions as the Parliament themselves afterwards, upon Debate, were forced to alter, 1661. and could not justify."

By the Maxim of the Parliament of 1640, it was understood, they had a Right to abolish Monarchy, and change the established Religion. By the Maxim contained in this Oath, *James* the Second afterwards believed, he had a Right to establish an absolute Power, and introduce Popery. But the People thought themselves bound by neither of these Maxims: For *Charles* the Second was restored, and *James* the Second was dethroned, notwithstanding these Decisions. In Fact, the Essence of the Government of *England*, consisted in the strict Union between the King and Parliament; and, whenever it has been disputed, it has been fatal to the Nation. The *Corporation-Act* was strictly put into Execution, and a very extensive Power was given to Commissioners to eject all such Persons, whose implicit Loyalty was ever so little suspected.

GENERAL *Middleton*, now created Earl of that Name, was sent High-Commissioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*, which acted with as much Compliance to the King as the Parliament of *England*; by abrogating the *Solemn League and Covenant*; investing the Power of the Militia in the King alone; and declaring the Act, of the 16th of *January* 1647, by which the late King was delivered to the *English*, to be contrary to all Laws human and divine. They suffered the Restoration of Episcopacy, as it was in 1637: The Privy-Council discharged all Synods and Presbyteries, till authorized by episcopal Power: They prohibited Meetings and Conventicles: And revived the Right of Patronage. They beheaded the Marquis of *Argyle*, and fixed up his Head where that of the unfortunate Marquis of *Montrose* had stood, whose Remains were honourably interred, in the same Manner as those of Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle* were in *England*. *Sharp*, *Hamilton*, *Burnet*, and *Leighton*, renounced Presbyterianism, and were consecrated Bishops of *Scotland* in *England*: But they could never introduce Episcopacy, and their Attempts on
that

A. D. that Occasion, were afterwards attended with great
1661. Disturbances.

A. D. AFTER passing the *Corporation-Act*, the *English* Parlia-
1662. ment adjourned to the 10th of *January*, when it assembled,
with a Resolution of providing for the Church as well
as the State. This Year is very remarkable on several
Accounts; and, before it was expired, the Presbyterians
found themselves deceived by the Promises of the
King, who left them unguarded to the Resentment of
their Enemies. The Church-Party were unwilling to
grant the least Moderation to any of the Sectaries, and
were intent upon ejecting the Presbyterians from all
their Ecclesiastical Preferments. The Ministry pretend-
ed, that there was certainly a Plot against the Go-
vernment; and it was asserted, that above 140 Officers
of the late Army were concerned in such a Conspiracy,
who intended to secure *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Bristol*.
But there was no Proof of such a Plot, and the Re-
port appears calculated to deprive the Presbyterians of
the Promises made them by the Declaration of *Breda*.

THE King, on the 1st of *March*, sent for the Com-
mons to *Whitehall*, and civilly reproached them with
having done Nothing towards the settling of his Re-
venues. He complained, there was a Republican
Party, who promised themselves a second Revolution:
Declared, "he had the worst Luck in the World, if,
after all the Reproaches of being a Papist while he
was Abroad, he was suspected of being a Presbyterian
now he was come Home: And desired there might be
an Uniformity in the Church;" though his Intention
was to get that Power entirely in his own Hands, that
he might dispense with whom he pleased.

THE Commons understood the Meaning of the
King; and, on the 2d of *May*, an Act was passed by
Commission, against the *Quakers* for refusing the Oaths.
This was followed, on the 17th, by several other Acts;
of which there were three of great Importance. 1. *An*
Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers, and the Admini-
stration of the Sacraments. 2. *An Act for the better Re-*
gulation and ordering of the Standing-Forces of the Nation.

3. *An*

3. *An Act for laying a perpetual and annual Tax of two A. D. Shillings on every Chimney-Hearth in each House, of above 1662. twenty Shillings a Year, Alm-houses excepted.*

By the *Act of Uniformity*, all the Promises made by the *Breda Declaration*, for an Indulgence to tender Consciences, were eluded : For it was required by this Act, that every Minister should conform to the Worship of the Church of *England*, according to the New-Book of Common-Prayer ; take the Oath of Canonical Obedience ; receive Episcopal Ordination ; abjure the Covenant, and renounce the Principle of taking Arms against the King. It was some Time before the Convocations of both Provinces could settle the Book, which was to be the Standard of Orthodoxy : And it was urged, that such a Conformity was repugnant to his Majesty's Engagements at *Breda*, as to tender Consciences : But it was answered, that it would be very strange to call a schismatical Conscience, a tender Conscience. An Act of Uniformity was passed in the 5th and 6th Years of King *Edward* the Sixth ; which was confirmed, and amended, by the 1st and 28th of *Elizabeth* ; and these were farther confirmed, and amended, by the present Act, which was enforced by severe Penalties. As, *That* every Minister, who then enjoyed any Ecclesiastical Benefice, should publicly declare his Consent to the new Book of Common-Prayer, before the Feast of *St. Bartholomew* 1662 ; as also that every Person who should be presented to any Ecclesiastical Benefice, should, within two Months after his actual Possession of the same, publicly declare the same Consent ; or be deprived of any spiritual Promotion : *That* any Incumbent residing on his Living, and keeping a Curate, should personally once in every Month read the Common-Prayers and Service, and administer the Rites of the Church, as hereby prescribed ; or forfeit five Pounds to the Poor : *That* every Dean, Canon, and Prebendary of every Cathedral ; all Masters, and other Heads of the Universities ; Persons in holy Orders ; and Schoolmasters, and Tutors, should subscribe the Declaration or Acknowledgment that it was not lawful to bear

A. D. 1662. bear Arms against the King, &c. and that they would conform to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, as now established; and renounce the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as an unlawful Oath imposed against the known Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; upon Pain of being deprived of their Preferments, Benefices, Places, and Schools; as also that no Schoolmaster, or Tutor, should act as such, without a License from the Bishop, under Pain of Imprisonment. That no Person should be capable of holding any Benefice without Episcopal Ordination; and that all such who were not so ordained, before the Feast of St. *Bartholomew* 1662, should be deprived of their Livings: As also That no Person should presume to administer the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper before he received Episcopal Ordination; upon Pain of forfeiting 100 *l.* for every Offence, and be disabled for a Year from taking the Order of Priest: With a Proviso that these Penalties should not extend to the Foreigners or Aliens of the foreign Reformed Churches allowed to be in *England*. That the principal Members of the Universities should subscribe the nine and thirty Articles of Religion made in the 13th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the new Book of Common-Prayer, and declare their Consent thereto; or their Places be void. That the Bishops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, *Asaph*, *Bangor*, and *Landaff*, should take Care that the new Book of Common-Prayer should be translated into the *Welsh* Tongue, for the Uses of the Churches in that Principality, before the 1st of *May* 1665. And That a true printed Copy of the new Book of Common-Prayer should be got for the Use of all Churches and Chapels throughout *England* and *Wales*.

THE Form of Divine Worship was highly necessary to be explained and established; as it had been greatly corrupted and read in *Latin* for many Years past to the People; though *Cromwell* ordered the Proceedings in Law to be in *English*. *Rapin* says, some People considered this *Act of Uniformity* as the great Support and Bulwark of the Church of *England*; while others looked upon it as her Reproach: But *Rapin* acknowledges himself

himself a Presbyterian, against whose Sect the *Uniformity A. D.* Act was principally levelled. However, it is univer-^{1662.}sally confessed, that there was a noble Instance of Moderation in the Church of *England*, when her Divines declared, "that in these their Doings they condemned no other Nations."

By the *Militia Act* it was declared, "that the supreme Power, by Sea and Land, was always invested in the Kings of *England*;" and an Oath of *Non-Resistance* was enjoined to be taken, by the Lord-Lieutenants, and all their Officers; as well as those of the Army: But this Doctrine was discarded in 1688.

By the *Chimney-Tax*, the Parliament intended to settle a considerable Revenue on the King for his Life, and on his Successors for ever. This Tax amounted to about 260,000 *l.* a Year; which, together with the Tonnage and Poundage, Excise, and other Duties, according to some Writers, made the Revenue of the King double to that of any of his Predecessors: Though others say, the whole established Revenue seldom amounted to upwards of a Million a Year; which, considering the intolerable Load of Debts the King had contracted, was certainly a Sum insufficient for the public Expences. This induced the King to a Marriage; and was the best Reason that could be given for the Sale of *Dunkirk*.

AFTER this Business was dispatched, the Parliament was prorogued to the 19th of *May*; which was a Branch of the Prerogative that had been first assumed by *Henry* the Eighth, and had slept for many Years. The Court was wholly employed in preparing for the Reception of the new Queen from *Lisbon*. Her Name was *Catherine*, and she was born on the 14th of *November* 1638; so that she was now in the 24th Year of her Age, and was eight Years younger than the King, who very probably formed the Resolution of marrying a Princess of *Portugal* unknown to his Ministers. The King of *Portugal* was deprived of all Assistance from *France* by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and courted the Friendship of the King of *England* to protect him from the Resentment of the King

A. D. 1662. King of *Spain*, who as strenuously opposed this Match between *Charles* and *Catherine*. The King was necessitous: *Spain* was poor, notwithstanding her Possession of the *American* Treasures: And *Portugal* was the only Country from whence *Charles* would be furnished with a Wife. The *Portuguese* Monarch agreed to give with his Sister two Millions of *Crusades*, or about 300,000*l.* Sterling, with the Town of *Tangier* upon the Coast of *Africa*, and the Isle of *Bombay* in the *East-Indies*: The Money was of Service; the Town was made a free Port, and afterwards thought unworthy of keeping; but the King gave the Island to the *East-India* Company, in whose Hands it still remains as one of their principal Settlements in *India*; while the *Portuguese* have lost almost all their once valuable Possessions in that Country. The King of *England* engaged by Treaty to furnish 3000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and eight Frigates, to assist *Portugal* against *Spain*. The Earl of *Sandwich* brought over the Infanta, who arrived at *Portsmouth* on the 14th of *May*, where she was magnificently received by the King, in the same Manner as his Mother had been received thirty-seven Years before by his unhappy Father at *Canterbury*. The nuptial Solemnity was performed, on the 21st of *May*, by Doctor *Sheldon* Bishop of *London*, according to some Authors: But *Burnet* says, when *Sheldon* came to perform the Ceremony, the Queen would not say the Words of Matrimony, nor bear the Sight of the Bishop: That the King said the Words hastily, and the Bishop pronounced them married Persons: To which *Burnet* adds, that the Duke of *York* told him, they were first privately married by the Lord *Aubigny*, according to the *Roman* Ritual.

THE King committed a very impolitic Step in marrying a Popish Princess; and the Example of his Father might have pointed out to him the Resentment of the Nation. The Marriage was as inauspicious as impolitic: The Princess was a Lady of strict Virtue; and the King delighted more in the Arms of a venal Prostitute, than in the Embraces of a faithful Wife. They were

were blest with no Issue: But the Report of her natural Incapacity to have Children, seems to have been calculated to divert the King from marrying her; since she was twice declared to be pregnant. The Queen-Mother arrived in *England* soon after the Marriage, and resided in *Somerset-House*: But returned to *France* three Years afterwards.

WHILE the Court was rejoycing for the Marriage of the King, the People could not refrain grieving for the Fate of some Criminals. The Regicides *Barkstead*, *Okey*, and *Cobbet*, three of the nineteen Judges who had escaped abroad, had settled for some Time at *Hanau* in *Germany*, and returned in Spring to *Delft* in *Holland*, where Sir *George Downing*, the King's Resident to the States, procured them to be arrested, and suddenly sent to *Englaad*; though he had been formerly of their own Party, and had even been Chaplain to *Okey's* Regiment. *Ludlow* remarks, "that this was a barbarous Part acted by the States, who had made it a fundamental Maxim to receive and protect all those who should come among them. But a Treaty was to be made with *England*, and their Trade secured at any Rate, though the Foundations should be laid in Blood." He taxes *Downing* with Treachery in this Affair: But he afterwards prevented the *Dutch* from receiving any Benefit by their Condescension to the King, who was bent upon a War against the Republic. *Cobbet* had been bred to the Bar, was a Member of Parliament thirty-seven Years, and had been one of the Commissioners for the civil Government of *Ireland*. *Barkstead* was a Goldsmith of *London*; he was Colonel of a Regiment, and had been Governor of *Reading*, as also Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*. *Okey* had been Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and was dismissed from his Command by *Oliver Cromwell*, on Account of his Affection to the Commonwealth. They were executed at *Tyburn*, on the 19th of *April*; when they behaved with as much Fortitude, and with more Submission than those who had suffered before.

THESE

A. D. 1662. THESE Executions were followed with that of a more distinguished, but less guilty Criminal : As also with the Trial and Pardon of another great Offender. These Criminals were Sir *Henry Vane*, and General *Lambert*, who had been excepted in the Act of Indemnity, and committed to Prison, though they were not among those who passed Sentence upon the King. *Vane* was beheaded on the 14th of *June* ; and *Lambert* was banished to the Isle of *Guernsey*. But the Sentence of the Former was thought severe, as he seemed to have acted upon Patriot Principles, and scorned the Favours of the Protector : As also because the King had promised the Convention Parliament to save his Life. He died with great Intrepidity, and was cruelly interrupted in his last Moments by Drummers placed under the Scaffold, whose Noise prevented him from being heard, when he cast any Reflection upon the Severity of the Government. It has been pretended, that his hard Treatment was owing to his insolent Behaviour : But it may with more Justice be suspected, that he fell a Sacrifice to the Manes of the Earl of *Strafford*, to whose Death he had greatly contributed ; and *Echard* says, he died in the same Place on *Tower-Hill* with that famous Nobleman. His Father had been Secretary of State and Comptroller to the late King, to whom the Son was Treasurer of the Navy. He was Burgess for the Town of *Kingston-upon-Hull*, and had been President of the Council of State : He was remarkable for Parliamentary Abilities ; as also for his being the last who suffered on Account of the Civil Wars : Though *Algernoon Sydney* died after him on another Pretence. Sir *Henry* observed, That, by the 11th of *Henry* the Seventh, whoever served a King *de facto*, ought not to be questioned for it by a *King de jure* : That whoever were possessed of the Power of Sovereignty, were Sovereigns : And that the Statute was made to give the Subject Protection, where he paid Allegiance. He had been the Life of the Republican Party, and retained his Principles at his Death. *Lambert* lived a Prisoner thirty-six Years,

Years, entirely forgot by that Nation, which he had A. D. 1662.
once aspired to bring solely under his Government.

AFTER so great a Man as *Vane*, four very mean Persons of the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, were executed, for a Conspiracy to kill the King, the Duke of *York*, and General *Monk*. But this was generally esteemed as an Artifice to render the Nonconformists more odious, and countenance the Proceedings of the Court, whom, as *Ludlow* observes, it served for a Pretence to seize five or six hundred Persons, and increase the Standing Guards.

THE High-Churchmen had it now in their Power, and were determined to retaliate all the Injuries they had received from the Presbyterians, who dreaded the Approach of St. *Bartholomew*; as they were, by the *Act of Uniformity*, to conform to the Church of *England*, or relinquish their Livings. The Church of *England* had been the National Church from the Reformation, to the Time of the War between *Charles* the First and the Parliament, when it was entirely subverted by the Presbyterians: Therefore, it was only just to restore the Church to its former Condition; though it was unjust to violate the Promise made to the Presbyterians. The Catholic Party at Court encouraged a Combination among the Leaders of the Presbyterian Clergy to refuse the Subscription, and flattered them that they would be protected by the King in their Refusal: While the Duke of *York* hoped that the Danger arising from their Union would prevail with the Parliament to grant a general Toleration to the Nonconformists, which should extend to the Papists.

BURNET says, "The Presbyterians remembered what a St. *Bartholomew's* had been held at *Paris* ninety Years before, which was the Day of that Massacre; and did not stick to compare the one with the other." The principal Presbyterian Ministers refused the Preferments of the Church; and it appeared very surprizing, when about 2000 of their Clergy relinquished their Cures in one Day, which they called *Black Bartholomew*; being refused the fifth of their Livings, which had been left to the ejected Clergy during the Dominion of the Parliamentary

A. D.liamentary Party. The *Corporation-Act* was at the same
 1662. Time rigorously executed; whereby the High-Church-
 men triumphed over the Presbyterians, whose Power they
 had sufficiently felt, and as much dreaded its Re-esta-
 blishment; fearing the Increase of their Party, would
 always encourage them in their old Contentions for a
 Superiority. However, the Presbyterians afterwards en-
 joyed a high Toleration as well in Civil as Religious
 Matters; but were absolutely deprived of all the Re-
 venues of the Church: While the Papists began to rise
 on their Ruins, and to threaten Destruction both to
 Church and State.

BUT what disgraced the Conduct of the King this
 Year, and indeed the Annals of his Reign, was the im-
 politic mercenary Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*; which
 had been obtained from the *Spaniards* by the Arms and
 Sagacity of *Cromwell*, in 1658. The lavish Disposition
 of *Charles* had exhausted his Treasure, and he thought
 of obtaining a present Supply by the Sale of *Dunkirk* to
Lewis the Fourteenth, who had been deprived of it by
 the *Spaniards*, and was very unwilling to see it put into
 the Possession of the *English*. It was said, the annual
 Expende of maintaining that Garrison amounted to
 100,000*l*. That the King was confined, by the Treaty
 with *Portugal*, never to yield it to the *Spaniards*: That
 it would be dangerous to trust it to the *Dutch*: And
 therefore it was necessary to sell it to the *French*. The
 Parliament offered to maintain the Place; but the King
 looked upon it as his Property, and entered into a Nego-
 ciation for the Sale of it with *France*, which was begun
 in *July*, and ended in *October*. *Charles* at first demanded
 twelve Millions of Livres; but Count *d'Estrades*, who
 managed this Affair for *Lewis* the Fourteenth, offered
 only one Million and a Half. Both Sides were equally
 impatient; the one to sell, and the other to buy: So
Charles fell in his Demand to seven Millions, and *Lewis*
 rose to two Millions of Livres; but at last the Sale was
 fixed at five Millions, or about 400,000*l*. Sterling, ac-
 cording to the Rate of Exchange at that Time, of 26
 Livres and 2 Sols the Mark, which has been greatly
 lessened

lessened since. The Artillery and Stores were valued at ^{A. D.} a Fifth of the Sum : But neither the Buyer nor the Seller ^{1662.} looked upon it as a Place of that Importance which it afterwards appeared to be, when *Lewis* made it a good Sea-Port, with such Improvements as to render it a Seminary for Privateers to distress the *British* Trade in Time of War.

COUNT *d'Esstrades*, in his Letters concerning the *Dunkirk* Negotiation, intimates, that the Earl of *Clarendon* was principally concerned in this Treaty : And *Rapin* seems to be of the same Opinion : The Earl knew the Importance of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, if he intended to make any Conquests upon *Flanders* ; which he afterwards undertook : But it is not very probable, that such an upright Minister would principally carry on a Scheme so pernicious to his Country.

It appears from one of the Letters of *d'Esstrades*, that the Earl of *Sandwich* had proposed the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, preferably to the Sale. The Merchants complained that it would become a Nest of Pirates, and ruin their Commerce. *D'Esstrades* says, they considered the Chancellor as the sole Author of the Treaty ; and hints that it brought on his Disgrace. The Earl of *Bristol* charged the Chancellor with receiving 10,000*l.* by Way of Commutation. But the Earl of *Clarendon* has been justified by others ; particularly *Burnet* and *Echard*, who would entirely clear him of these Aspersions ; though this was not sufficient for *Rapin*, who had a great Veneration for that Minister, and might have spoke more in his Favour if he had known as much as Lord *Bolingbroke*, who has the following Remarks on this Occasion to Lord *Cornbury*.

“ As the private Interests of the two *de Wits* hindered the *Dutch* Commonwealth from being on her Guard, as early as she ought to have been against *France* : So the mistaken Policy of the Court of *England*, and the short Views, and profuse Temper of the Prince who governed, gave great Advantages to *Lewis* the Fourteenth in the Pursuit of his Designs. He bought *Dunkirk* : And your Lordship knows how great a Clamour was raised on that

A. D. Occasion against your noble Ancestor; as if he alone
 1662. had been answerable for the Measure, and his Interest
 had been concerned in it. I have heard our late Friend
 Mr. *George Clarke*, quote a Witness, who was quite un-
 exceptionable, but I cannot recal his Name at present,
 who, many Years, after all these Transactions, and the
 Death of my Lord *Clarendon*, affirmed, that the Earl of
Sandwich had owned to him, that he himself gave his
 Opinion, among many other Officers and Ministers, for
 the Sale of *Dunkirk*. Their Reasons could not be good,
 I presume to say; but several, that might be plausible at
 that Time, are easily guessed. A Prince like King
Charles, who would have made as many bad Bargains
 as any young Spendthrift, for Money, finding himself
 thus backed, we may assure ourselves was peremptorily
 determined to sell: And whatever your great Grand-
 father's Opinion was, this I am able to pronounce upon
 my own Experience, that his Treaty of the Sale, is no
 Proof he was of Opinion to sell." His Lordship shews,
 why *Dunkirk* could not be sold to the *Dutch*, or to the
Spaniards; and observes, "That, notwithstanding the
 Sale, and the secret Leanings of our Court to that of
France; yet *England* was first to take the Alarm, when
Lewis the Fourteenth invaded the *Spanish Netherlands* in
 1667; and the triple Alliance was the Work of an
English Minister."

THE elegant Monsieur *Voltaire* in one Place observes,
 "That *Dunkirk* was added to *France*, at a Price glori-
 ous to the Purchaser, and shameful to the Seller," In
 another Place, he says, "*Charles* the Second, by his
 Prodigality and Poverty, incurred the Shame of selling
 that for Money, which had cost the *English* the Price of
 Blood. His Chancellor *Hyde*, who was accused of hav-
 ing either counselled or permitted this weak Action, was
 afterwards banished by the Parliament of *England*; which
 often punishes the Faults of Favourites, and sometimes
 even judges its Kings."

KING *James* the First, in 1616, delivered up the Cau-
 tionary Towns to the *Dutch*, for one fourth of the Mo-
 ney they agreed to give Queen *Elizabeth*: But the Lord-
 Treasurer

Treasurer *Suffolk* was fined 30,000*l.* on that Account. A. D. *Charles* the Second, and his Chancellor *Clarendon*, were ^{1662.} equally blamed for selling *Dunkirk*. The King acted as imprudent as his Grandfather : But the Chancellor should not have been slandered as if he had been as bad as the Treasurer.

IF the King was unjustifiable in the Sale, he was much more so in the Disposition of the Purchase Money : For *Burnet* says, he promised to lay up all the Money in the *Tower* ; and that it should not be touched, but upon extraordinary Occasions : Though he squandered it away upon his Mistress and her Favourites. But this Charge seems contradicted by some Letters from Secretary *Bennet*, to the Duke of *Ormond*.

THE *English* Parliament was so sensible of the Importance of *Dunkirk* ; that, in 1661, they wanted to have it annexed with *Jamaica* to the Crown ; which would have prevented the Sale of it by the King. The *French* soon put so high a Value upon this Acquisition, that they struck a Medal upon the Occasion ; and boasted, that their august Monarch got Possession of one of the strongest Fortresses in the World, as also of *Mardike*, and the Fort of *Bergue*, at the cheap Price of five Millions of *Livres*. It was stipulated, that the Payment should not be made, till the Day after the Evacuation of the Places ; and, for the Security of the same, *d'Estrades* offered to remain in Hostage, as also to procure to be sent into *England* such other Hostages as should be desired : But *Charles* declared he would have none ; and that he valued the Word of the Most Christian King more than all the Hostages in the World. The Treaty was afterwards faithfully executed on both Sides, and Lord *Rutherford* withdrew the *English* Garrison ; whereby *France* acquired a considerable Port on a Coast where she had not properly any before ; and eased herself of those Fears she had entertained of *England* assisting the *Huguenots* from that Place, where she might in a Tide have thrown 10,000 Men into the Kingdom.

KING *Richard* the Second was in some Respects like King *Charles* the Second ; particularly in disobliging his

A. D. 1662. Subjects, by yielding up *Cherbourg* to the King of *Navarre*, and *Brest* to the Duke of *Bretagne*, in 1396, for considerable Sums. The *French* took *Calais* from the *English* in 1558; which the *Huguenots*, in 1562, promised to restore to *Queen Elizabeth*: But, instead of performing that Promise, they assisted *Charles* the Ninth in expelling the *English* Troops from *Havre de Grace* in 1563. The Duke d'*Enguien* was the first Person who brought *Dunkirk* under the Dominion of *France* in 1646. It was retaken by the *Spaniards* in 1651; and taken from them again in 1658, by the united Arms of *Lewis* and *Cromwell*, when it was put into the Hands of the *English*. In 1662 it was sold to *Lewis*, who caused 30,000 Men to work upon the Fortifications, both to the Land and Sea Sides; and, between the Town and the Citadel, a large Basin was formed, capable to contain thirty Ships of War: so that this Place became a Terror to the *English* almost as soon as they had sold it. In 1712, it was put into the Hands of *Queen Anne*, as a Surety that *Lewis* would perform his Engagements about a Peace: And, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was agreed, that the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, which had been the Cause of so many Jealousies, should be demolished.

A. D. 1662. THE Courtiers, and Royalists, had always adopted more favourable Sentiments for the Papists than for the Presbyterians; because they had strenuously asserted the Rights of the Sovereign. The King, and his Brother, were pleased to see the Presbyterian Clergy refuse to comply with the *Act of Uniformity*: But their principal Aim was to introduce a *general Plan of Toleration*, in favour of the Papists; which was to be done under the Pretence of mitigating the Rigours against the Presbyterians. It was equally difficult to conceal such a Design from the Parliament, and to bring the Members to favour the Views of the Court; because the Catholics were as odious to the People, as they were agreeable to the Courtiers. The King and his Brother persisted in their Scheme; in which they met such Opposition, as might have readily convinced them the Nation would never suffer the *Toleration of Papists*; and the virtuous
Lord

Lord *Clarendon*, for advising the King against this un-A. D. popular Step, began to decline in his Favour, and to ^{1662.} lose all his usual Confidence.

THE Presbyterians addressed the King for a Dispensation from the Penalties annexed to the Act of Uniformity; upon which his Majesty published a Declaration, wherein he said, "He would make it his especial Care, without invading the Freedom of Parliament, to incline them to concur with him, in making some such Act, as might enable him to exercise with a more universal Satisfaction, that Power of *Dispensing*, which he conceived *to be inherent in him*." This was boasting a very high Prerogative, and advancing a very dangerous Maxim; which was afterwards put into Execution to the general Dissatisfaction of the People.

THE Parliament met, on the 18th of *February*, when his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses, in Favour of his Declaration concerning the Act of Uniformity; in which he made Use of these Words, "The Truth is, I am, in my Nature, an Enemy to all Severity for Religion and Conscience, how mistaken soever it be, when it extends to capital and sanguinary Punishments, which, I am told, were begun in Popish Times: Therefore, when I say this, I hope I shall not need to warn any here, nor to infer from thence, *I mean to favour Popery*. I must confess to you, there are many of that Profession who, having served my Father and myself very well, may fairly hope for some Part of that *Indulgence* I would willingly afford to others who *dissent* from us: But let me explain myself, lest some mistake me herein, as I hear they did in my Declaration: I am far from meaning by this, a *Toleration*, or qualifying them thereby, to hold any Offices or Places in the Government; nay, further, I desire some Laws to be made to hinder the Growth and Progress of their Doctrines." He professed a Zeal for the Protestant Religion, in which he would not yield to the Bishops themselves; and he acknowledged the Act of Uniformity was the Standard of their established Religion; yet he heartily wished, he had

A. D. 1663. such a *Power of Indulgence*, to use upon Occasions, as might not give Uneasiness to the Presbyterians.

THE Parliament were alarmed at this Speech, and particularly the House of Commons; who saw the King *dispensing* with the Act of Uniformity, and even desiring their Concurrence to empower him in such an unconstitutional Proceedure. These *High Churchmen* were neither for granting an Indulgence to the Presbyterians, or Catholics, and addressed the King, that he would shew no such Favour to any of the Sectaries, as it was not meant by the Declaration at *Breda*, and would establish Schism by a Law. They observed, that it would be a Cause of increasing Sects and Sectaries, till they arrived at a general Toleration, and some prevalent Sect may contend for an Establishment, which *might end in Popery*. This, they said, was a Thing altogether without Precedent; would take away all Means of convicting Recusants; and be inconsistent with the Method and Proceedings of the Laws of *England*. Upon which, his Majesty was sensible he could not easily obtain a Power of dispensing with the Penalties in the Act of Uniformity; and, at present, relinquished the Project of *Indulgence*.

THE Commons, having succeeded against the Non-conformists in general, levelled their Power as directly against the Papists, as the King had indirectly shewn them his Favour. On the 1st of *April*, both Houses jointly addressed his Majesty, to command all Jesuits, and Popish Priests to quit the Kingdom. The King pretended, he would apply all proper and effectual Remedies to hinder the Growth of Popery; and, on the 9th, published a Proclamation pursuant to the Address of his Parliament: But this was no better observed than all the Proclamations published for the same Purpose, since the Beginning of the Reign of *James the First*. The two Queens were allowed by the Parliament to retain their foreign Priests; and the Word *foreign* was purposely omitted by the King in his Proclamation, which authorised the Queens to give Protection to as many *English, Scotch, and Irish* Priests as they thought proper.

THOUGH

THOUGH the King was a Papist, the Parliament still A. D. believed him a Protestant, and he artfully endeavoured 1663. to establish the same Belief among his People. Notwithstanding his Revenue, his Marriage Portion, and the Sale of *Dunkirk*, he wanted Money so much, that he demanded an extraordinary Supply from the Commons, who granted him four Subsidies; and the Clergy in Convocation followed their Example; which was the last Time that Taxes were levied in this ancient Manner. Some farther Laws were made for the Encouragement of Trade; and the Militia was again taken into Consideration, when it was enacted, that the King should not keep them under Arms above fourteen Days in the Year; which was a Jealousy both superfluous and unreasonable. The Revenues of the Post-Office, and Wine Licenses, were granted to the Duke of *York*, which then brought in about 21,000 *l.* a Year: But they soon increased in such a Manner as to enable the Duke to keep a separate Court, and live independent of his Brother.

THE Earl of *Clarendon* was a Man of too much Honour and Integrity to humour the King in all his Sallies of Pleasure, and Fits of Indolence; nor could the King bear the honest Reproofs of so wise and virtuous a Minister. The Chancellor, and his Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, supported their own Characters with Dignity, and scorned to pay any Respect to the Royal Mistresses, who chiefly had the Ear of the King. This hastened the Cloud that was gathering over the Head of the Chancellor, who, as a Man of Probity, could not connive at, much less be an Accomplice in Wickedness; for, of all Crimes, the greatest is to be a Tool to the Iniquity of another.

By the Use which a Courtier makes of the Royal Favour, it is easy to perceive whether he owes it to his Merit, or his Intrigues: Thus *Agrippa* never committed an ill Office to any Person; whereas *Sejanus* made it his whole Business to feed and nourish the Suspicions which every Moment sprung up in the restless Soul of *Tiberius*. The Earl of *Clarendon* could not turn a Flatterer to the

A. D. 1663. such a *Power of Indulgence*, to use upon Occasions, as might not give Uneasiness to the Presbyterians.

THE Parliament were alarmed at this Speech, and particularly the House of Commons; who saw the King *dispensing* with the Act of Uniformity, and even desiring their Concurrence to empower him in such an unconstitutional Proceedure. These *High Churchmen* were neither for granting an Indulgence to the Presbyterians, or Catholics, and addressed the King, that he would shew no such Favour to any of the Sectaries, as it was not meant by the Declaration at *Breda*, and would establish Schism by a Law. They observed, that it would be a Cause of increasing Sects and Sectaries, till they arrived at a general Toleration, and some prevalent Sect may contend for an Establishment, which *might end in Popery*. This, they said, was a Thing altogether without Precedent; would take away all Means of convicting Recusants; and be inconsistent with the Method and Proceedings of the Laws of *England*. Upon which, his Majesty was sensible he could not easily obtain a Power of dispensing with the Penalties in the Act of Uniformity; and, at present, relinquished the Project of *Indulgence*.

THE Commons, having succeeded against the Non-conformists in general, levelled their Power as directly against the Papists, as the King had indirectly shewn them his Favour. On the 1st of *April*, both Houses jointly addressed his Majesty, to command all Jesuits, and Popish Priests to quit the Kingdom. The King pretended; he would apply all proper and effectual Remedies to hinder the Growth of Popery; and, on the 9th, published a Proclamation pursuant to the Address of his Parliament: But this was no better observed than all the Proclamations published for the same Purpose, since the Beginning of the Reign of *James the First*. The two Queens were allowed by the Parliament to retain their foreign Priests; and the Word *foreign* was purposely omitted by the King in his Proclamation, which authorised the Queens to give Protection to as many *English, Scotch, and Irish* Priests as they thought proper.

THOUGH

THOUGH the King was a Papist, the Parliament still A. D. 1662. believed him a Protestant, and he artfully endeavoured to establish the same Belief among his People. Notwithstanding his Revenue, his Marriage Portion, and the Sale of *Dunkirk*, he wanted Money so much, that he demanded an extraordinary Supply from the Commons, who granted him four Subsidies; and the Clergy in Convocation followed their Example; which was the last Time that Taxes were levied in this ancient Manner. Some farther Laws were made for the Encouragement of Trade; and the Militia was again taken into Consideration, when it was enacted, that the King should not keep them under Arms above fourteen Days in the Year; which was a Jealousy both superfluous and unreasonable. The Revenues of the Post-Office, and Wine Licenses, were granted to the Duke of *York*, which then brought in about 21,000*l.* a Year: But they soon increased in such a Manner as to enable the Duke to keep a separate Court, and live independent of his Brother.

THE Earl of *Clarendon* was a Man of too much Honour and Integrity to humour the King in all his Sallies of Pleasure, and Fits of Indolence; nor could the King bear the honest Reproofs of so wise and virtuous a Minister. The Chancellor, and his Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, supported their own Characters with Dignity, and scorned to pay any Respect to the Royal Mistresses, who chiefly had the Ear of the King. This hastened the Cloud that was gathering over the Head of the Chancellor, who, as a Man of Probity, could not connive at, much less be an Accomplice in Wickedness; for, of all Crimes, the greatest is to be a Tool to the Iniquity of another.

By the Use which a Courtier makes of the Royal Favour, it is easy to perceive whether he owes it to his Merit, or his Intrigues: Thus *Agrippa* never committed an ill Office to any Person; whereas *Sejanus* made it his whole Business to feed and nourish the Suspicions which every Moment sprung up in the restless Soul of *Tiberius*. The Earl of *Clarendon* could not turn a Flatterer to the

A. T. 1663. King whom he had guided like a faithful Tutor; nor could he patiently bear to see him entering into new Projects that were neither advantageous to the State, or Religion. The King began to be alienated from his old Minister, and to throw himself into the Hands of new Favourites; which deprived him of more Honour, than it gained him Happiness. The Papists were still afraid of the Chancellor regaining his Credit; particularly the Queen-Mother, and the favourite Mistress *Cleveland*; which probably engaged the Earl of *Bristol* to attempt the utter Ruin of him, by impeaching him, on the 10th of *July*, before the Lords, of High-Treason. The Chancellor was charged "with insinuating that his Majesty was inclined to Popery, and designed to alter the established Religion: With having concluded the Marriage between the King and Queen upon Articles scandalous and dangerous to the Protestant Religion: With endeavouring to raise to himself a popular Applause of being the zealous Upholder of the Protestant Religion: With having advised and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk*: And with having embezzled the Public Money." The whole Charge was rejected as improbable, and contradictory: Upon which his Popish Accuser, said, "Those Articles were not intended as a *Charge*, but as an *Information*." He was confounded with Shame at exhibiting such an inconsistent Charge against his old and intimate Friend: He absconded for some Time; and never afterwards retrieved his Character. While the public-spirited Chancellor behaved with the Moderation of a *Scipio*, and was continued in his Dignity till 1667, when he was banished from that Kingdom which had been preserved by his Councils. Secretary *Nicholas*, his intimate Friend, was immediately removed from his Employment; and Sir *Harry Bennet*, an avowed Enemy to the Chancellor, was promoted to that Office: He was also soon after created Lord *Arlington*, and distinguished himself by his Negotiations.

THE Parliament was prorogued, on the 27th of *July*, to the 16th of *March* following: But, before this Prorogation, the Speaker acquainted his Majesty, "that during

during the late unhappy Wars in this Nation, our Neigh-^{A. D.}
bours Eyes were laid open to spy out all Advantages of ^{166.}
spoiling our Trade, and to advance their own; but, by
the several good Bills made ready for the Royal Assent,
we hope we shall restore and increase the flourishing
Trade of this Nation." However, the Earl of *Anglesey*
protested against *The Act for Encouragement of Trade*;
particularly to those Parts, whereby Liberty was given
for transporting Money and Bullion; and a Restraint
laid on Importation of *Irish* Cattle; which he supported
with good Reasons: The former he said trenched highly
upon the King's Prerogative, who by Law was the only
Exchanger of Money; that it would itagnate Trade, and
put it in the Power of a few Persons to leave the Kingdom
in want of Money: The latter he said, was prohibiting
almost the only Trade of *Ireland*, and threatened that
Kingdom with universal Poverty; which was invading
the common Right and Liberty of the Subject: Whilst
they, being by Law native *Englishmen*, were debarred the
English Markets.

THE Duke of *York*, and thirteen other Lords, also pro-
tested against an Amendment in the *Act of Uniformity*,
whereby it was declared, "That the Declaration and
Subscription of Assent and Consent, in the said Act men-
tioned, should be understood only as to the Practice and
Obedience to the said Act:" Which they conceived,
"was destructive to the Church of *England* as then esta-
blished,"

IMMEDIATELY after the Prorogation, the King and
Queen made a short Progress into the West, and were
magnificently entertained at *Oxford*. In the mean Time,
another Plot was discovered; which was carried on in
the North of *England*, by the *Zealots for Separation*, and
the *Republican Party*, says Mr. *Echard*: Or, in the Words
of Bishop *Kennet*, by the *Bigots for Schism, and a Com-
monwealth*. It has been reported, that the Brethren of
England and *Scotland* had a secret Committee in *London*,
and that the 12th of *October* was appointed for a general
Rising in the three Kingdoms: That *Ludlow*, or *Lam-
bert*, was to have the Command: That their Pretences

A. D. were to redeem themselves from the *Excise*, and all *Sub-*
 1663. *sidies*; to re-establish a *Gospel-Magistracy and Ministry*; to restore the *Long-Parliament*; and to curb the *Gentry, Lawyers, and Clergy*. It was said, that *Boston* in *Lincolnshire* was to serve the Conspirators for a Port of Communication with their Friends abroad: That *Whiteball* was to be secured: As also that *Nottingham, Gloucester, and Newcastle*, were to be seized; because they were the most convenient Passes over the *Tyne, Severn, and Trent*. *Echard* says, a considerable Number, and *Kennet* says, a good Number of them appeared in Arms at *Farnley-Wood*: Which, says a more judicious Historian, appears to be all the Treason laid to their Charge.

INDEED, Bishop *Parker* exaggerates this Conspiracy infinitely more than the other Divines, and he had private Reasons of Popish Prejudice for doing so. This amphibious Kind of a Popish-made Protestant Bishop, insists, that these Conspirators had brought over 1000 Arms into *England*, which had been bought by one *Cole* in *Holland*: That they affirmed *Charles* the First was lawfully beheaded; and produced the Example of *Ebud* killing King *Eglon*, to the Imitation of the Saints of this Age. He says, that *Ludlow* entrusted one *Philip Alden* with the *Irish* Affairs; and that there was a secret Committee who sat daily in the City of *Dublin*, who had enlisted Men in all the Counties, and intended to seize the Castle of *Dublin* on the 11th of *May*: But that *Alden* discovered the whole Conspiracy to the Duke of *Ormond*, who was Lord-Lieutenant, and seasonably prevented the Scheme from being put into Execution. He adds, that Sir *Theophilus Jones* was chosen their General, who also confirmed *Alden's* Discovery to the Lord-Lieutenant, and was afterwards employed by the King as a Spy upon all their Proceedings. *Parker* says, that several of the Conspirators were seized in *Dublin*, tried, and executed, for High-Treason; among whom were *Warren* and *Jephson*, Colonels and Members in the *Irish* Parliament at the same Time: That nine other Members were banished by Act of Parliament: As also, that *Thomson*, a Captain of the Guards; and *Lackey*, a Presbyterian Teacher,

Teacher, were hanged. As to the Conspiracy in *Eng-A. D. land*, the Bishop says, The principal Contrivers were ^{1663.} some Presbyterians, who were ejected on that unlucky Day of *St. Bartholomew*. The chief of them were Doctor *Richardson*, Dean of *Rippon*; and *Marsden*, formerly Chaplain to *Overton*: Both of whom were banished. He observes, that one *Atkinson*, a travelling Pedlar, carried Letters through all Parts of the Kingdom with incredible Dispatch; and that the appointed Colonels were ready to head their Soldiers. That *Smithson*, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel to *Lilburn*; and *Greathead*, Lieutenant-Colonel to *Lambert*, were appointed Generals; the one of the North, and the other of the West-Riding of *Yorkshire*: But that they voluntarily discovered the whole Matter to the Governor of *York*. By which Discovery, they lost all Opportunity of Meeting: So that when Captain *Thomas Otes* appeared, in Arms, on the Day appointed, in *Farnley-Grove* near *Leeds*, they were suddenly taken, and confessed the whole Conspiracy.

BISHOP *Burnet* speaks scarcely a Word about this Conspiracy; nor would he have mentioned it all, if it had not been to introduce a melancholy Instance, to his private Family, that *France* was taking all possible Methods to do every Thing that the King of *England* desired. Yet there certainly was a Plot: For *Ludlow* himself acknowledges, "that, about the Summer of 1663, their Friends in all Parts began to entertain Hopes they might be again employed to rescue their Country from Servitude: And that, in this Posture of Affairs, Colonel *Algernon Sydney*, who had for some Time resided in *Italy*, thought convenient to draw nearer Home, that, if any Opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting in his Duty, and the public Service; and so resolved to Winter in *Flanders*." *Ludlow* adds, that this gallant Gentleman "passed through *Switzerland*, and made a Visit to him and his Friends then harboured at *Vevay*; and, staying with them three Weeks, he assured them of his Affection and Friendship, and no Ways declined to own them, and the Cause for which they suffered." But

A. D. it is evident, that all the wretched Projects, like this
 1663. Conspiracy, received no Countenance from such eminent
 Men as *Ludlow* and *Sydney*; who disdained to associate
 with Persons of such mean Condition as a few poor *Le-*
vellers, *disbanded Officers*, and *desperate Enthusiasts*. Co-
 lonel *Sydney* was afterwards permitted to return to *Eng-*
land: But, in 1683, lost his valuable Life, on a Charge
 of being concerned in a Conspiracy against the King.
Ludlow had great Reason to fear he would be assassinated
 by the Royalists: And *Lisle*, who had been Lord-Keeper
 to the Protector, was actually shot through the Back, at
Lausanne, this Summer. But though the *Dutch*, on the
 breaking out of the War, offered to put *Ludlow* at the
 Head of a large Body of Men to invade *England*, he
 was afraid of trusting those People who had so lately
 delivered up three of his Friends; nor could they pre-
 vail upon him to quit his Retirement in the Mountains
 of *Switzerland*, which afforded him the Asylum of Li-
 berty.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord-Lieutenant of the
 County of *York*, was ordered to make strict Examination
 of all Persons suspected to have contributed to this Rising.
Newil, *Salway*, and *Hutchinson*, were sent to the *Tower*:
 But nothing could be proved against them, to subject
 them to farther Punishment. Many of the Conspirators
 were tried at *York*; and one of them told the Judge,
 “ that he valued his Life no more than his Handker-
 chief.” Several were found guilty; and twenty-one
 were executed there in *January* following. Perhaps, so
 mean a Conspiracy, was punished with too great Seve-
 rity: Though *Parker* would have it believed, that it
 would have been general all over the Kingdom, if it
 had not been suddenly prevented. The King afterwards
 informed the Parliament, that “ this was a dangerous
 Conspiracy, and the Offspring of that old one which he
 discovered to them two Years ago, which increased, and
 was spread daily in all Parts: But that he knew all
 their Designs; and truly, if he had not been well ac-
 quainted with the very Hour, and the different Places
 of their Rendezvous in the North; and if he had not
 taken

taken them up, not only with the Militia, but also with *A. D.* *his own Guards*, they would truly, in great Numbers, 1663. have broke into open War."

DOCTOR *Juxon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who attended King *Charles* the First in his last Moments, died this Year; and was succeeded by Doctor *Sheldon*, Bishop of *London*.

THE Affairs in *Scotland* were now chiefly conducted by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who prevailed upon the Parliament to devote their very Liberties and Persons to the Service of his Majesty. They offered not only to raise an Army of 20,000 Foot, and 2000 Horse; but to send every Man between sixty and sixteen, to suppress any Invasion, or Insurrection, in any Part of the three Kingdoms: Which was done to let the King see what Use he might make of *Scotland*, if he intended to set up arbitrary Government in *England*. *Lauderdale* was a Presbyterian; yet a downright Courtier; and was willing to enslave the Kingdom, to obtain Favour with the King. He had Interest and Address sufficient to remove the Earl of *Middleton* from all Employments; "whose Ministry, says *Burnet*, came to an End, after a Sort of a Reign of much Violence and Injustice: For he was become very imperious." The Earl of *Rothes* was declared the King's Commissioner, in the Room of *Middleton*; and yet *Burnet* acknowledges, the King looked on the latter as a very honest Man: Besides, he says, "those that came after him grew worse than ever he was like to be." He also observes, that the *Scotch* conceived, the Act of Parliament passed in *England* against Conventicles, was a great Breach on the Security of the *English* Constitution; as it impowered the Justices of Peace to convict Offenders without Juries. Yet the Bishops in *Scotland* got an Act passed there, almost in the same Terms. Another Act was passed, declaring, *the Constitution of a National Synod*; to be composed of the Archbishops and Bishops, of all Deans, and of two from every Presbytery; of which the Moderator, named by the Bishop, was to be one. All Things were to be proposed to this Court by the King, or his Commissioner; and whatever

was

A. D. was agreed to by the Majority, and the President the
 1663. Archbishop of St. Andrews, was to have the Force of
 an Ecclesiastical Law, when it should be confirmed by
 the King. Great Exceptions were taken to this Act;
 which was thought a severe Restraint, like that of the
Proponentibus Legatis, so much complained of at Trent.
 The Power was wholly taken from the inferior Clergy;
 and the Act was so formed, that no one moved for a
 National Synod, when they saw how it was to be con-
 stituted. The Parliament also left the laying of Imposi-
 tions upon all foreign Merchandize, entirely in the
 King; which was the highest Mark of Confidence.
 But such a Spirit of Popularity appeared on all Occa-
 sions, that the Bishops found it difficult to preserve
 the Church; which was the Word always used,
 says Burnet, as if there had been a Charm in it: And
 the Earl of Lauderdale said, he foresaw, that Archbishop
 Sharp would ruin Episcopacy, as he would be in a
 perpetual War with the Earl of Glencairn, in whose
 Hands the Government was entrusted.

THE Parliament of Scotland also distinguished them-
 selves, by sentencing the Laird Wariston to be executed.
 This Gentleman was Uncle to Bishop Burnet, and had
 been a Member of the Committee of Safety. He had re-
 tired to Rouen in France, and King Charles desired of
 Lewis to put him into his Hands; which was accord-
 ingly done, in a more violent Manner than the three
 Regicides had been delivered up by the Dutch the Year
 before. He was sent over, and confined some Months
 in the Tower of London; from whence he was sent to
 Scotland, and executed at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh,
 as it is with Pleasure remembered by the Royal Apolo-
 gists, on a Gibbet two and twenty Feet high. He had
 been the Friend of Lauderdale, and the Idol of the Pres-
 byterians. His Nephew says, "He was so disordered
 both in Body and Mind, that it was a Reproach to a
 Government to proceed against him: For his Memory
 was so gone, that he did not know his own Children.
 Yet when the Day of his Execution came, he was very
 serene. He was chearful, and seemed fully satisfied
 with

with his Death. He read a Speech twice over on the A. D. Scaffold; in which he justified all the Proceedings in 1663. the Covenant, and asserted his own Sincerity; but condemned his joining with *Cromwell*, and the Sectaries; though even in that his Intentions had been sincere, for the Good of his Country, and the Security of Religion."

THE general Cry was *Monarchy and the Church*, when A. D. the Parliament assembled on the Day appointed, and 1664. were met by the King, who told them, "He loved Parliaments, and believed the Crown could never be happy without frequent Parliaments: But that he would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the Means prescribed by the *Triennial Act* made in 1641." He therefore demanded a Repeal of that famous Statute; and the yielding Parliament condescended to his Request; satisfying themselves with procuring another Act, "That Parliaments should not be interrupted or discontinued above Three Years." This threw the most essential Security of the Parliament entirely into the Hands of the King; and they were soon sensible of their Imprudence; for the Parliament was continued almost Eighteen Years, instead of being elected every Three Years. The People were to be every Way disarmed; and, to mortify them yet more, by their own Act and Deed. But, to prevent any Suspicion that the Features of the Court Implements have been aggravated, it is proper to have Recourse to their own Sentiments, delivered by the Mouth of their own Speaker, Sir *Edward Turner*, who, after observing they had taken the *Triennial Act* into Consideration, said, "When we had given it a Reading, we found it derogatory to the essential Prerogative of the Crown, of calling, holding, and dissolving Parliaments: We found it impracticable, and only useful to learn the People how to rebel: Therefore, we melted it down, extracted the pure Metal from the counterfeit and drossy Allays, and then presented it to your Majesty, to be new stamped, and made current Coin, for the Use of the Nation."

CHARLES the First was obliged to unking himself, in 1641, by passing an Act, that the Parliament should not

A. D. not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by its
 1664. own Consent. This gave them a perpetual Power against
 the King : But *Charles* the Second, by repealing the
 Triennial Act, obtained a perpetual Power over the Par-
 liament. At the same Time, that he thus removed the
 Bulwark of the Nation, to advance his Prerogatives,
 he told the Parliament, “ that he studied the Peace and
 Security of the Kingdom, and the Welfare of his Sub-
 jects, more than his Prerogatives ; and that, indeed, he
 considered his Prerogative in Order only to preserve
 the other : For the Act they had repealed, could only
 serve to discredit Parliaments, and to make the Crown
 jealous of Parliaments, and Parliaments of the Crown,
 and persuade neighbouring Princes that *England* was not
 governed under a Monarch. It could never have been
 the Occasion of frequent Parliaments. He promised
 them, he would not be an Hour the less without one for
 this Act of Repeal ; nor, he was sure, would they be
 the less kind to him in Parliament.” He seemed to
 forget, that Annual Parliaments were formerly known
 to the Laws of *England* ; and that the Refusal of Trien-
 nial Parliaments was one of the principal Objections
 against the Government of his Father. In fact, the
 triennial Bill, and the Petition of Right, were almost
 the only solid Advantages which remained to the Com-
 monwealth at the Time of the Restoration ; and though
 both were soon invaded, they were afterwards re-esta-
 blished.

THE Parliament also empowered the King to levy
 the Chimney-money by his own Officers, as he had de-
 sired. This Tax amounted to about 256,000*l.* a Year,
 in the Reigns of *Charles* the Second and *James* the Se-
 cond : But it was the Cause of such great Vexations,
 Complaints, and Murmurs, that it was obliged to be
 dropt after the Revolution. The Act of Uniformity
 was strengthened by another Act for the Security of the
 Church ; which made it Penal for all Sectaries to fre-
 quent Conventicles : The first Offence was 5*l.* or three
 Months Imprisonment ; the Second was 10*l.* or six
 Months Imprisonment ; and the Third was 100*l.* or
 Transportation.

Transportation. These religious Meetings of the Sec-^{A. D.} taries, were considered as the Seed-plots and Nurseries ^{1664.} of their Opinions against the Government in Church and State : But such an Act was too rigorous to be continued long, or submitted too with any Degree of Patience.

By investing the King with the Militia, and repealing the triennial Act, he enjoyed a kind of absolute Power ; accountable to none but God alone, and exalted above all Resistance. But these Proceedings were destructive of the public Liberties, and repugnant to the *old English Constitution*. It is not improbable, that in such a Temper of Mind, and Situation of Circumstances, even those who saw how groundless and dangerous were such extravagant Notions about the Right, Power, and Prerogative of Kings, might imagine it was a prudent Part to give way to them, and countenance them in their present Conjunction ; to suffer the Opinions of the Nation to be bent too far on one Side, as they had been bent too far on the other ; not that they might remain crooked, but become straight.

THE principal Attention of the Parliament was still farther to oblige the King, in expressing their Resentment against the Behaviour of the *Dutch*, who had recovered from the low Condition to which they had been reduced by *Cromwell*, and had molested the Navigation of the *English*. The Commons voted, " That the Wrongs, Dishonours, and Indignities done to his Majesty, by the Subjects of the *United Provinces*, in *India*, *Africa*, and elsewhere ; and the Damages done by them to the *English* Merchants, were the greatest Obstructions of the Trade of *England*." The Lords concurred to this Vote ; and both Houses addressed the King, " To take some effectual Course for the Redress of these Injuries, and all others of the like Nature, and for the Prevention of the like for the Future." They promised to assist the King with their Lives and Fortunes against all Oppositions whatsoever : And his Majesty said, he would demand speedy Reparation from the *Dutch*. He was already resolved on a War ; for these Complaints were only designed

A. D. 1664. signed to furnish a Pretence, and engage the Parliament to grant necessary Supplies; though they were prorogued till *August*, without voting any, and were not to assemble before *November*.

THE Movements of great States are often directed by as slender Springs as those of Individuals: And, if it was said, that the War between the two Republics in 1652, was excited by the Resentment of *St. John*, the *English* Ambassador, for the Affronts he had received from the Populace of *Holland*; it has also been said, that the War which broke out in 1664, arose on Account of the private Interest of *Downing*, the Ambassador from the King to the *States General*. The *English* Republic wanted a Coalition with that of *Holland*, which was refused: The *Dutch* were disagreeable to *Cromwell* for their Attachment to the Royal Family: The *English* People envied their Trade, and the proposed Alliance was converted into a furious War, which continued with amazing Spirit, till 1654, when *Cromwell* made a Peace upon his own Terms. The two Republics were not then inflamed by any national Antipathy, and fought rather for national Glory than Advantage. The War was terminated by a defensive League, which subsisted till 1661, without any Complaint, or Infraction. Neither *England* nor *Holland* had yet any Jealousy of the growing Power of *France*; and were only envious of each other. The *Dutch* were the first who had felt the Arms of *England* after the Death of *Charles* the First; and they were now the First who were to feel the Power of *Charles* the Second. *Holland* had retrieved its maritime Strength, and carried on a more extensive Trade than any other Nation in the World: But *England* was superior in naval Power, and *Charles* was convinced that Commerce is the natural Support of a Maritime State. The King had received the greatest Marks of Civility from the *Dutch* during his Exile: But he hated the *Louvestein* or Aristocratic Faction, which prevailed in the Commonwealth, and deprived the House of *Orange* of its ancient Authority. The Duke of *York* wanted an Opportunity of distinguishing himself in War; and

and the Nation in general, as well as the Parliament, A. D. were for curbing the Power of *Holland* : but the Earls of ^{1664.} *Clarendon* and *Southampton* were unwilling to precipitate *England* into such expensive Measures, while she was exhausted in her Finances at Home, and unsupported by any Alliance Abroad.

SUCH a War was more political than equitable ; yet both Nations soon found their Error ; and, as they were the Bulwarks of the Reformation, at last became sensible it was their Interest to support each other by a Renewal of *Cromwell's* Defensive Alliance, and a perpetual Confederacy. In 1662, the King renewed the Treaty of 1659 with the *Dutch*, who the same Year concluded an Alliance with *France* ; while the *English* complained of some Depredations committed by the *Dutch* ; and particularly of two Ships called the *Bona-venture* and the *Good Hope*, which had been plundered in the *East-Indies*. It was pretended, that the Damage sustained by these Depredations amounted to about 800,000*l*. But that Report was only to inflame the Nation ; while the King sent Sir *Robert Holmes* with a Squadron of Fourteen Ships to the Coast of *Africa*. This Commander expelled the *Dutch* from *Cape-Corse*, and seized the Island of *Goree* ; drove them from their Settlements on the Coast of *Cape Verd*, and took several of their Ships trading on the Coast : After which, he sailed to *America*, and dispossessed the *Dutch* of *Nova Belgia*. The *Dutch* pretended an exclusive Right to the whole Trade of *Africa* : but the *English* had good Pretensions to *Cape Corse*, and *Nova Belgia* ; both of which they retained : The Former became the principal Settlement of the *African* Company, which was established in 1663 ; and the Latter was called *New-York*. The *Dutch* complained of these Hostilities ; and the King pretended to be ignorant of what *Holmes* had committed by his Order ; which occasioned the States to arm themselves with Diligence, as they foresaw that a Rupture was unavoidable.

THE *English* Admiral *Lawson*, and the *Dutch* Admiral *de Ruyter*, were sent with two strong Squadrons into the *Mediterranean*, to act jointly against the *Algerines* ; while

A. D. 1664. while the King demanded Satisfaction from the States for the Damages he pretended his Subjects had sustained. *Charles* was so fully determined on a War, that he disregarded all the Memorials of the *Dutch* Ambassador, and refused the Mediation of the *French* Monarch, who was obliged to assist the States if they were attacked. The *Dutch* ordered *Ruyter* to depart from the *Mediterranean* with Twelve Ships, and recover their *African* Settlements; which he easily accomplished. They never apprehended the *English* would commit Hostilities in *Europe* without a previous Declaration of War: But *Charles* intended to stagnate their Trade by suddenly seizing their Ships.

THE Expedition against the *Algerines* was of little Signification, and *Lawson* returned to *England*, where he communicated his Suspicion of *de Ruyter's* Enterprize in *Africa*. The *English* Fleet was immediately equipped, and a Squadron of sixteen Ships sent to Sea, under the Command of the Duke of *York*, as Lord High-Admiral, who intercepted the *Dutch* Homeward-bound Fleet from *Bordeaux*, laden with Wine and Brandy: Many *Dutch* Ships were seized in the *English* Ports, and 135 were taken in all, which were brought into *England*, and condemned as lawful Prizes. The Law of Nations was hereby violated, as no War had been proclaimed; and many other Ships were seized, without so much as the Sanction of Letters of Marque and Reprizals.

It is well observed, by *Cicero*, and after him by *Grotius*, and other Civilians, that there are certain peculiar Laws of War, which are of all Things to be most strictly regarded. The whole Right and all the Duties of War, were most religiously set down in the *Fecial* Laws; out of which, it is manifest, that no War can be justly undertaken, without Satisfaction has been first demanded, and a previous Proclamation of it publicly made. The Wars waged by the *Romans* with the *Cimbers* and *Celtibres*, were for Safety, and for Existence: Those with the *Carthaginians* and *Pyrrhus*, for Honour and Dominion. The War which *Cromwell* undertook against the *Dutch*, was for national Honour: And that which *Charles*

now

now intended, was for national Gain, without the Ob- A. D.
servance of national Faith, as prescribed in the Laws of 1664.
War, by *Cicero*, and his modern Annotators.

THE *English* Navy made a very formidable Appearance, and cost the King 800,000*l.* which he raised upon his own Credit, as the Parliament had granted him no Supply. He was not long in want of Money; for the Parliament met on the 24th of *November*, and granted him Two Millions and a Half, to be levied by Quarterly Payments in Three Years: After which, both Houses adjourned to the 12th of *January*.

DURING this Session, the Clergy voluntarily resigned their Right of taxing themselves in Convocation, and submitted to be taxed in common with the People in Parliament; which was a *considerable Alteration in the Constitution*. The Clergy had always sat in Convocation at the same Time with the Parliament, having a Power of imposing a Tax upon themselves, without possessing a negative Voice in passing the Laws. They now parted with their Power of granting Subsidies, for the Sake of Profit in easing themselves of a troublesome Burthen; because their Grants were usually greater than those made by the Parliament. It is true, the Parochial Clergy were allowed to vote at Elections; but their Convocations became unnecessary to the Crown, and inconsiderable in themselves; being afterwards assembled more for Form than Business.

THE Earl of *Glencairn* was dead; and the Government of *Scotland* was committed to the Earl of *Rothes*, who was a great Favourite with the King, but entirely abandoned himself to Pleasure, and was governed by Archbishop *Sharp*. A furious Scene of illegal Violence was opened, by establishing a new Ecclesiastical Commission, whereby several Persons were punished for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles. *Burnet* represents *Sharp* to have acted with little less Severity against the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, than *Gardiner* had done, in 1555, against the Protestants in *England*. And says, "when some censured *Rothes*, all the Answer that was

A. D. 1664. was made, was, a severe Piece of Raillery, that the King's Commissioner ought to represent his Person."

A. D. 1665. As soon as the Parliament was adjourned, the King granted general Reprizals against the *Dutch*, who were vigorously preparing for Defence. The Republic was principally directed by the Pensionary *John de Wit*, who was remarkable for his Qualities as a Statesman, and a Patriot: He kept up a general Spirit of Liberty in all the Provinces, levied great Sums, and equipped a Navy composed of larger Ships than the *Dutch* had ever built before; so that their Fleet was able to encounter with that of *England*, and they soon came to a severe Trial of their Strength.

THE Enterprize of *de Ruyter* was no longer a Secret; and the King declared War against the *Dutch* on the 2d of *March*, when he came to the Parliament, and prorogued it to the 21st of *June*, which was afterwards continued to the 10th of *October*. His Majesty told the *French* King, that the *Dutch* were the Aggressors, by committing the first Act of Violence, in ill treating one of his Ships laden with Masts from *Sweden*: That they first armed, and seized his Forts in *Guinea*: and that they made a national Quarrel for a private Dispute between the Two Companies. Some Writers tax the *Dutch*, and others the *English*, with beginning this War. The Duke of *York* was Governor of the new *African* Company, and made it a Point to put them in Possession of the whole Trade to *Guinea*, in which he failed; nor was the Company ever able to support itself without the Assistance of Parliament. The *Dutch* were to be expelled from their Settlements in *Africa*; and this was the principal, if not the real Cause of the War: For though the *Dutch* had paid the Honours due to the *English* Flag, they were determined that nothing but Necessity should oblige them to submit to the Demands of *England*. The *English* published a Catalogue of their Damages, consisting of Thirty-three Articles; Eight of which related to the Loss sustained by seven Ships in the *East Indies*, and for fortifying the Isle of *Poleton*; two related to the *English* Factory at *Cape-Corse*; two to the Damages

Damages sustained by the *English Turkey Company*, in A. D. having two of their Ships stopt in the *Mediterranean*; 1665. and thirty-three related to the Depredations committed on several *English Ships* in other Parts. But the principal Reason, asserted in the Declaration of War, was the Hostilities committed by *de Ruyter*. Lord *Holles* was sent to *France*, and Sir *Richard Fanshawe* to *Spain*, to endeavour to engage those two Crowns in a War against the *Dutch*; but they were unsuccessful, both at *Paris* and at *Madrid*. The *French Monarch* sent the Duke of *Verneuil* at the Head of a splendid Embassy to *London*, to temporize with *Charles*, 'till he was able to declare against *England* in 1666: But his Declaration was of little Service to the States. *Spain* was too weak to give Assistance to either Side: *Denmark* promised Friendship to *England*, and declared in Favour of the *Dutch*. *Charles* had no Ally to take Arms but the Bishop of *Munster*; and this War involved *Europe* in a very complicated and surprizing Scene of Troubles.

THE Quarrel between *England* and *Holland* continued 'till 1667. The *French Monarch* then invaded the *Spanish Netherlands*; and, in 1668, the *Triple League* was formed against him between *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*. In 1670, *Charles* renounced the *Triple League*, and united with *France* for the Destruction of *Holland*. In 1672, War was again declared by *England* against *Holland*, and *France* was then Ally to the Former, as she had been in 1666 to the Latter: *Holland* was over-ran; and the great *de Wit* fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of the Populace, whose Republic would have been exterminated, if Providence had not sent them a Protector in the Prince of *Orange*, who afterwards became the Deliverer of *England*. *Spain* threatened to assist *Holland*: and *Sweden* mediated a Peace, which was agreed to by *England* in 1674. At last, the *Dutch* were assisted by the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists*, which brought on the Peace of *Nimeguen*, in 1678; whereby a short Tranquility was restored to *Europe*. The aspiring Views of *France* soon created Jealousy among her Neighbours: *Spain* declared War against *Lewis*: It continued after the Death of *Charles*; and *William* the Third formed the General Confederacy against *France*, which was continued

A. D. continued 'till the *French* Views of universal Empire sub-
 1665. sided. This is the Epitome, and Ground-work, of the
 grand Affairs of *Europe*, from the War between *England*
 and *Holland* in 1665, to the Revolution in 1688 : Which
 it will be necessary to have always in View, for the more
 immediate Conception of that Medley of Confederacies,
 whereby the Liberties of *Europe* were endangered at one
 Time, and secured at another; 'till the Extinction of
 the *Austrian* Family in *Spain*, and the Transferring of
 that Crown to a Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, in-
 troduced a new System of Politics, produced other Wars,
 and established Things as they are at present; when
Russia in the North, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* in *Ger-*
many, and the King of *Sardinia* in *Italy*, have made a
strange Alteration in the Ballance of Power.

THE Sword was now drawn; nor was it sheathed
 'till after a Scene of Blood and Destruction, which con-
 tinued two Years. *Burnet* says, "a great Comet which
 appeared that Winter, raised the Apprehensions of these
 who did not enter into just Speculations concerning those
 Matters." With regard to this War, he observes, "*France*
 and Popery were the true Springs of all these Councils.
 It was the Interest of the King of *France*, that the Armies
 of the *States* might fall under such a Feebleness, that
 they should be in no Condition to make a vigorous Re-
 sistance, when he should be ready either to invade them,
 or to fall into *Flanders*; which he was resolved to do,
 whensoever the King of *Spain* should die. 'The *French*
 thus set on the War between 'the *English* and the
Dutch; hoping that our Fleets should mutually weaken
 one another so much, that the naval Force of *France*,
 which was increasing very considerably, should be near
 an Equality to them, when they should be shattered
 by a War." To which he adds, "The *States* were
 likewise the greatest Strength of the Protestant Inter-
 est, and were therefore to be humbled. The Earl of
Clarendon was not let into the Secret of this Design, and
 was always against it: But his Interest was now sunk
 low; and he began to feel the Power of an imperious
 Mistress over an amorous King, who was so disgusted

at the Queen, that he abandoned himself wholly to A. D.
Amour and Luxury." 1665.

WHILE the *French* Ambassador acted the Part of a Mediator at *London*, the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets put out to Sea, and came to a vigorous Engagement. *De Wit* found it was necessary to hazard a Battle, and prevailed on the States to order their Admiral in Quest of the Enemy, who had braved the *Dutch* in their Ports, and were now retired to the *English* Coast. The *Dutch* Fleet consisted of 121 Men of War, besides Fire-ships; having about 24,000 Men on Board; commanded by *Opdam de Walfsnaer*; who had under him, *Cortenaer* Vice-Admiral of the *Maese*; *Ewertzen* Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*; and *Cornelius Trump* Son of the great *Martin Trump*, who was killed during the Protectorship. The *English* Fleet amounted to 114 Sail, besides 14 Fireships and Ketches, with 22,000 Men on Board: The Red Flag was commanded by the Duke of *York*, assisted by *Pen* and *Lawson*: The White Squadron was headed by Prince *Rupert*, assisted by *Mynus* and *Sampson*: And the Blue Squadron was conducted by the intrepid Earl of *Sandwich*, who had with him *Ascough* and *Cuttings*. But the *Dutch* Rear-Admirals and Captains were not such experienced Commanders as the *English*: Which is a Misfortune more liable to Republics than Monarchies.

THE *Dutch* Admiral came up with the *English* Fleet, on the 3d of *June*, early in the Morning; when a general Battle ensued, off the Coast of *Harwich*. It was long, bloody, and obstinate: But the *English* were victorious, and the *Dutch* fled for Protection to their own Coasts. The Conquerors sustained little Loss: But the conquered suffered greatly. *Opdam* was blown up, with all his Men: And *Cortenaer* was killed upon Deck, after hoisting the Admiral-Flag: They had 18 Men of War taken, and 14 sunk or burnt: About 4000 Men were killed, and 2063 taken Prisoners. The *English* lost only one Ship of 46 Guns; having no more than 283 Men killed, and 440 wounded: But among the former were Admiral *Sampson*, Vice-Admiral *Law-*

A. D *son, Charles Berkley Earl of Falmouth, James Ley Earl of*
1665. *Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, and the Lord Mus-*
kerry. If the *Dutch* had been properly pursued, while
 they were flying in Confusion, this must have been a
 decisive Stroke, which would have immediately finish-
 ed the War; for *Van Trump*, with only 12 Ships, se-
 cured the Retreat.

THE Earl of *Sandwich* and Admiral *Pen* were eager
 in the Pursuit: But received Orders in the Night to
 slacken their Sail. *Brunkard* was of the Bedchamber
 to the Duke, and issued these Orders, in his Name, to
 Sir *John Harman*: Though the Duke seemed surprized
 when he awaked, and denied his giving such Orders
 to *Brunkard*; who nevertheless was no farther question-
 ed about so important a Matter at present. The Duke,
 indeed, dismissed him his Service; and, according to
Burnet, could do no more; because *Brunkard* was much
 in Favour with the King and his Mistress the Dutchesse
 of *Cleveland*: But the Bishop forgot to mention, that
Brunkard was expelled the House of Commons in 1667,
 and ordered to be impeached, for giving these false Or-
 ders: Besides, it was then voted, "That if the Orders
 of the Duke of *York* had been strictly observed, as they
 ought, in that Engagement, the whole Fleet of the
 Enemy had probably been destroyed." The Bishop
 hints as if the Duke was afraid of continuing the Pur-
 suit, and engaging again; "being struck at seeing the
 Earl of *Falmouth*, Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyle*, killed;"
 who, according to *Burchet*, fell "by the same Cannon-
 Ball, just by the Duke of *York*, and so near him, that
 he was sprinkled with their Blood and Brains." But
 it has been allowed, the Duke was in the thickest of the
 Fire, and shewed great Bravery during all the Engage-
 ment; which must have been very warm in his own
 Ship, where *Opdam* directed all his Fury, and was
 blown up by it in the Heat of Action. The Duke of
York returned to *England*, and was so joyfully received
 at *Whitehall*, that the King appointed a Day of Thank-
 giving for the Victory, and ordered several Medals to
 be struck in Honour of the Victor, who was now con-
 sidered

sidered as Heir-Apparent to the Throne; because it A. D. 1665.
was imagined his Brother would have no Children.

THE Earl of *Sandwich* was immediately sent out with the Fleet to intercept the *Dutch* Merchant-men homeward-bound from *Turky* and the *East-Indies*, which had taken Protection in the Port of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and waited for the Return of *De Ruyter* to convoy them to *Holland*. The Earl ordered one of his Squadrons, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Tyddeman*, to attack the *Dutch* Fleet in a neutral Harbour: But the Attempt was unsuccessful, because the *Dutch* had fortified the Harbour; and *De Ruyter* arrived at *Bergen* with a strong Fleet to convoy the Merchant-ships home. He met with no Opposition from the *English*: But his Fleet was dispersed by a Storm, which threw twelve of his Men of War, and several Merchantmen, into the Hands of the Enemy; whereby the Earl of *Sandwich* obtained a Booty to the Value of nine Million of Livres: But this Expedition was voted by the Commons, in 1667, as one of the several Miscarriages in the War.

THE King of *England* sent the accomplished Mr. *Temple* to prevail upon *Bernard Van Ghalen*, Bishop of *Munster*, by subsidiary Arguments, to attack the *Dutch* by Land; while he attacked them by Sea. This alarmed the Pensioner *De Wit*, who vainly renewed his pacific Negotiations. He was opposed by a strong Party, whereby the States were thrown into great Disorder, and the Populace were outrageous for a Stadtholder; especially as the Bishop of *Munster* had made an Invasion upon their Territories, with a tumultuary Army of 20,000 Men. But this ambitious Prelate was so much intimidated at the Menaces of the *French* Monarch, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Lunenburg*, that he concluded a Peace under the Mediation of *France*, as hastily as he had embarked in a War. The King of *Denmark* engaged to assist the *Dutch* with a Fleet of thirty Sail, for the yearly Subsidy of 1,500,000 Crowns; of which 300,000 were paid by the *French* Monarch, who was also preparing to declare openly in Favour of the *Dutch*, for fear *England*

A. T. should acquire the absolute Dominion of the Seas.
 1665. The King of *Denmark* violently seized all the *Engl. sh* Ships and Effects in his Dominions.: While the Pensionary completed the *Dutch* Navy, and the People were resolutely bent to continue the War, which was badly managed by the *Engl. sh*, after their Disappointment at *Bergen*. *Burnet* says, " Lord *Sandwich* was much blamed ; though he was sent Ambassador into *Spain*, that his Disgrace might be a little softened by that Employment. The Duke's Conduct was also much blamed : And it was said, he was most in Fault, but that the Earl of *Sandwich* was made the Sacrifice." The Duke never recovered his Character : But the Earl afterwards proved himself worthy of being ranked among the greatest Heroes of *Greece* or *Rome*.

WAR was not the only Calamity which impoverished *England*: For, soon after it was declared, a most terrible Plague broke out in *London*. It began in the Middle of *May*, and raged with such Violence, that it swept away 68,596 Persons, in *London* only, within less than a Year ; and above 200,000 perished by it throughout the whole Kingdom. The King retired to *Salisbury*, and left *London* to the Care of the Duke of *Albemarle* ; after ordering all suspected Persons to depart the City, and not to return within twenty Miles of the same, till *November* following. The Inhabitants were scattered, and the Trade of the Nation was broke. " This, says *Burnet*, disheartened all People ; and, coming in the very Time in which so unjust a War was begun, had a dreadful Appearance. All the King's Enemies, and the Enemies of Monarchy said, Here was a manifest Character of God's heavy Displeasure upon the Nation ; as, indeed, the ill Life the King led, and the Viciousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholly Prospect. Yet God's *Ways* are not as our *Ways*. What all had seen, in 1660, ought to have silenced those, who at this Time pretended to comment on Providence. But there will be always much Discourse on Things that are visible, as well as very extraordinary." *London* was then built with Wooden Houses, in a very close Manner,

ner, and several Plagues had happened before; particularly in 1348, which destroyed 50,000 People in *London*, and half the People in the Kingdom; others happened in 1390, 1407, 1438, 1478, 1485, 1500, 1551, 1593, and 1625: But, after the dreadful Fire of 1666, *London* was rebuilt in another Manner, and *England* has never since been visited with the Plague; while several provident Laws have been made to prevent the Contagion from being brought into the Kingdom from foreign Countries; though the best of these Laws require some Amendment, particularly with Regard to the Importation of human Hair from the *Levant* and *Barbary*.

THE Violence of the Plague occasioned the farther Prorogation of the Parliament till the 10th of *October*, when the sixth Session was opened at *Oxford*, in the Great Hall at *Christchurch*. His Majesty told them, he had entered into a War with the States, by their Advice and Encouragement: That their great Supply was spent; and he expected farther Assistance. The Commons were ready to barter a new Supply to his Majesty, for a new penal Law against the Nonconformists; and cheerfully granted 1,250,000 *l.* more, to be levied in two Years by monthly Assessments; as also 120,000 *l.* to the Duke of *York*, for his great Services to the Nation. The King, in Return, passed a remarkable Bill against the Nonconformists, which was afterwards called *The five Mile Act*; whereby all the silenced Ministers, who refused to take the Oath of Nonresistance, were not, except upon the Road, to come within five Miles of any Corporation, or any other Place, where they had been Ministers, or had preached after the Act of Oblivion; under Penalty of 40 *l.* and six Months Imprisonment. When this Bill was presented to the King by Sir *Edward Turner* the Speaker, he told his Majesty, "It was a *Shibboleth*, a *Test*, to distinguish among them who would be peaceable, and give Hopes of a future Conformity; and those, who, of Malice and evil Disposition, remained obdurate." This was considered as a great Act of Oppression: For the Nonconformist Ministers had been already ejected from their Livings, by

A. D. the *Act of Uniformity*; and, by this Act, they were to
 1665. be deprived of Subsistence, so that they might be starved
 to accept of such a Toleration as the King should impose. Doctor *Earl*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, declared himself much against this Act; and he was the Man of all the Clergy for whom the King had the greatest Esteem. The honest Earl of *Southampton* also vehemently opposed it, and said, "He could take no such Oath himself: For how firm soever he had always been to the Church; yet, as Things were managed, he did not know but he himself might see Cause to endeavour an Alteration." The Act passed, and the Nonconformists were at first put to great Extremities; which "raised the Compassions of their Party so much, that they were soon supplied more plentifully than ever." But the *Church-Party* were not contented even with this Accession of Power; and the Commons introduced a Bill to impose the *Non-resisting Oaths upon the whole Nation*; which was happily and unexpectedly rejected by three Voices: These Gentlemen were Mr. *Bertie*, afterwards Earl of *Lindsey*; his Brother, Mr. *Peregrine Bertie*; and Sir *Thomas Osborne*, afterwards created Earl of *Danby*, and Duke of *Leeds*; "who, says an excellent Constitutional Author, had the Merit of saving their Country from the greatest Ignominy which could have befallen it; That of rivetting, as well as forging, its own Chains." The Commons formally presented their Thanks to the University, for their Loyalty; "especially for their unparalleled Zeal and Courage in refusing to submit to be visited by the usurped Powers; and for those excellent Reasons they published to the World to justify their Refusal." The Royal Assent was given to the Bills, on the 31st of *October*; when the Parliament was prorogued to the 20th of *February*; before which Time War was declared against *France*; so that the seventh Session was not commenced till the 21st of *September* 1666.

It is not surprizing, that such Court-Proceedings should occasion National Discontent; as the Nonconformists were drove to a State of Despair at Home,
 while

while the Nation was plunged in an expensive War A. D. abroad. But the Severity of the Court, and the Dis-1665. content of the People, were much greater in *Scotland*, than in *England*. The *Scotch* were obstinately averse to all Thoughts of Episcopacy; and a Proclamation was issued, on the 24th of *December*, "commanding all the silenced Ministers not to reside within twenty Miles of the Places where they had been Ministers, or within six Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any Cathedral Church, nor within three Miles of any Borough, nor should be more than two together in the same Parish; upon Penalty of incurring the Laws made against Movers of Sedition." These Measures were attributed to the Chancellor *Clarendon*, and Archbishop *Sheldon*; who artfully incorporated the Designs of the Church with those of the State: But with great Impolicy. Bishop *Leighton*, and Bishop *Scougal*, have received the Commendations of *Burnet*, as Men of great Prudence, Piety, and Moderation: But he taxes the other Bishops with being very remiss in all the Parts of their Function; and he seems well acquainted with the *Scotch* Affairs during this Period; which he says he undertook to rectify, and was severely reprimanded for it by Archbishop *Sharp*. Sir *James Turner*, who commanded the Troops in *Scotland*, executed these Ecclesiastical Laws, in a Military Way; which obliged many People to seek Protection in *Ireland*. The whole Face of the Government looked more like the Proceedings of an Inquisition, than of legal Courts; and, after the Disgrace of *Middleton*, no more *Scotch* Councils were formally held at *Whitehall*: But *Scotland* was loaded with an additional Number of Soldiers, and kept in a State of Servitude.

THE *French* Monarch, notwithstanding he was so A. D. nearly related to the King of *England*, was now deter-1665. mined to fight against him by assisting the States. *England* and *France* had continued in perfect Amity since the Treaty of 1655: But *Lewis* the Fourteenth was now raising his Kingdom to its meridian of Glory. "Heroes and Politicians, says the elegant *Voltaire*, are the Product of all Ages; all Nations have suffered Re-

A. D. volutions; and all Histories are equal to him who reads
 1666. only to store his Memory with Facts: But whoever
 thinks, and, what is yet more uncommon, whoever
 has a Taste, will regard only four Ages in the History
 of the World." The last of these he calls the Age of
Lewis the Fourteenth; which he has represented in a
 very bold, lively, and masterly Manner. *Lewis* the Four-
 teenth was a Minor when he came to the Crown: But the
 Arms of *France* became very formidable under the Con-
 duct of the illustrious Prince of *Conde*, and the glorious Mar-
 shal *Turenne*. They deprived the *Spaniards* of their an-
 cient military Reputation, and defeated the best Troops in
Germany: After which, the *French* destroyed themselves
 by their Civil Wars. The young King was like an
 Exile in his own Dominions, till his Subjects ended
 their Differences, when both Parties strove to oblige
 their Sovereign; who, by the Councils of *Mazarine*, and
 the Vigilance of *Louvois*, obtained the Reputation of a
 martial, as well as a political Prince. The Power of
 the Nobility was broke, the Parliaments restrained, and
 the *Huguenots* reduced. Industry was promoted, Trade
 encouraged, and Commerce protected: While a well
 disciplined Army was kept on foot, and the utmost
 Care taken to establish a maritime Power. *Lewis* the
 Thirteenth, at his Accession to the Crown, had not a
 single Ship: But *Lewis* the Fourteenth soon got a
 formidable Navy, by making new Ports, erecting Ar-
 senals, establishing trading Companies, and settling Colo-
 nies. He used all the Means in his Power to repair
 the Error and Misfortune under which *France* had so
 long laboured, by a Neglect of the Sea; while her
 Neighbours had been forming Empires in the most dis-
 tant Parts of the World.

THE *French* Monarch was now in the Twenty-eighth
 Year of his Age; and Lord *Bolingbroke* will have it,
 if he was not the greatest King, he was the best Actor
 of Majesty, at least, that ever filled a Throne. He was
 surrounded with great Captains bred in former Wars;
 and with great Ministers bred in the same School as him-
 self: So that he was much superior to any Prince with
 whom

whom he had to do, when he began to govern. He ^{A. D.} acted very systematically from 1660, to the Death of ^{1666.} King *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, in 1700. He never lost Sight of his great Object, *which was the Succession to the whole Spanish Monarchy*; and he accepted the Will of the King of *Spain*, in Favour of the Duke of *Anjou*. As he never lost Sight of his great Object during this Time; so he left no Opportunity of increasing his Power, while he waited for that of succeeding in his Pretensions. The two Branches of *Austria* were in no Condition of making any considerable Opposition to his Designs and Attempts: While the *Dutch* chose him for their Confederate, to make War upon *England*.

THE Alliance of *France* encouraged the *Dutch* to renew the naval War against *England*; though it was contrary to their Interest. The *French* Monarch recalled his Ambassador from *London*, and declared War against the King of *Great-Britain*, on the 12th of *January*; for which he gave no other Reasons, than that "his Mediation had been ineffectual, and that he was obliged to keep his Royal Word with the *Dutch*." He ordered *d'Estrades* to have it insinuated in the *English* Court, that he was sorry King *Charles* had nothing to see but Enemies Coasts, from the Extremity of *Norway* to *Bayonne*. At the same Time, he pretended that he had no Rancour or Animosity against the *English*; and he really gave the *Dutch* no Assistance at Sea, 'till towards the End of *September*: For his real Intentions in declaring War was not so much to assist the *States*, as to support the declining Interest of *De Wit* among his discontented Countrymen.

KING *Charles* returned to *London* on the 1st of *February*, and proclaimed War against *France* on the 10th; before which Day his Queen miscarried, and destroyed the common Report, that she was incapable of having Children.

THE *English* and *Dutch* Fleets had been repairing with equal Diligence on both Sides; and the *Dutch* expected the *French* would join them with Thirty-six Sail,

A. D. 1666. which were then in the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufort*, who, in 1669, was killed by the *Turks* at the Siege of *Candy*. The *English* Fleet was this Year commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle* : It consisted of Seventy-eight Ships of the Line, besides Frigates and Fireships ; but Twenty of these were too precipitately sent from *Plymouth*, under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, to intercept the *French* Admiral, who was expected at *Bellisle*, on the Coast of *Bretagne*. The *Dutch* Fleet was composed of Eighty Ships of the Line, besides Frigates and Fireships : It was commanded by *de Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, and *Trump* ; who were at Anchor between *Newport* and *Dunkirk*, when the Duke of *Albemarle* bore down upon them, with an inferior Force, to bring them to an Engagement.

THE Rival Fleets met on the 1st of *June*, when the second Battle began ; which continued four Days, with more Fury and Destruction than the Battle which began on the 18th of *February*, 1653, and continued for three Days, between *Blake* and *Trump*, who were both dead ; but those who then served under them, were now to dispute the Sovereignty of the Ocean. - *Albemarle* and *de Ruyter*, with all their Admirals, behaved with amazing Courage and Resolution. *De Wit* is said to have invented Chain-shot, which at this Time were first put in Use, and greatly damaged the *English* Rigging. Sir *William Berkley*, the *English* Vice-Admiral, was killed by a Musket-ball ; and his Ship, the *Swiftsure*, was taken : While the *Dutch*, Vice Admiral *Evertzen*, who very warmly engaged Sir *John Harman*, was killed by a Cannon-ball. The Battle lasted 'till Ten at Night, when the Darkness parted the Combatants, and the *Dutch* had the Advantage ; as they only lost one Ship, which was blown up ; and the *English* had five Ships sunk.

ON the 2d, the Battle was vigorously renewed in the Morning, and desperately continued 'till the Afternoon. *De Ruyter* and *Van Trump* were as much Rivals in Glory, as they were Enemies from Faction, and strove who should

should acquire most Reputation in repelling the common A. D. Foe of their Country. The Courage of *Van Trump* ex-¹⁶⁶⁶ posed him to the most imminent Dangers; and *De Ruyter* had the Honour of generously relieving his Antagonist, when surrounded by the Enemy, and reduced to the last Extremity. The Duke of *Albemarle* bravely animated his Fleet, which was rather overpowered than overcome; for *De Ruyter* was joined by Sixteen fresh Ships during the Action; and the *English* were so shattered, that they had only Twenty eight Ships capable of facing the Enemy; which obliged them to retreat towards their own Coast, after having Eight of their Ships sunk or burnt this Day, and Six taken. The *Dutch* followed, and were on the Point of renewing the Fight, when a Calm arose a little before Night, and put an End to the Horrors of the second Day.

ALBEMARLE continued his Retreat the next Morning, and closed the Rear with his own Ship; being determined to blow himself up, rather than surrender to his victorious Pursuers. The gallant Earl of *Ossory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, was on board of the Admiral, and applauded this desperate Resolution. The *Dutch* came up, about Two o'Clock, within Gun-shot; when a new Fleet was discovered crowding Sail down the Channel to reach the Scene of Action. This spread a general Alarm, and suspended the Engagement: For the *English* were in Hopes it was Prince *Rupert*; and the *Dutch* expected it was the Duke of *Beaufort*. It happily proved to be Prince *Rupert*, with the whole white Squadron of *England*, who had heard the roaring of the Guns, and made all possible Expedition to come down. *Albemarle* bent his Course towards the Prince, who came as seasonably to his Assistance as *Bourne* came to *Blake*, in 1652.: But Sir *George Ascough*, Admiral of the White, struck on the *Galloper* Sands, with the Royal Prince, the largest Ship in the Fleet, and was obliged to strike to the *Dutch*, who were preparing to destroy him with their Fireships. He was a brave Commander, and had signalized himself against *De Ruyter* in 1652. The *Dutch* tacked, and the Pursuers became the Pursued: For the *English*, who just before would gladly have compounded

A. D 1666. for an Escape, now thought of nothing less than a complete Victory : But Darkness again came on, and saved the *Dutch* this Night, as it had done the *English* the Night before.

THE *Dutch* took the Advantage of the Night in retreating towards their own Coast ; and the *English* Admirals pursued them so close in the Morning, on the 4th, that they came up with the Enemy at Eight o'Clock, when the Battle was renewed with more Horror, and equal Force, than in any of the three preceeding Days. The Fleets were closely engaged, and the *English* charged through the *Dutch* no less than four Times ; in which the brave Sir *Christopher Mynns*, who led the Attack, gloriously lost his Life ; and the *Dutch* Admirals, *Vander Hulst*, and *Stockbover*, were also killed. The Battle was ended by a Mist ; and both Fleets retired to their respective Coasts ; after receiving great Loss, and obtaining great Honour.

BOTH Sides claimed the Victory, and ordered public Thanksgivings : But the Engagement was far from being decisive ; and it is impossible to ascertain who had the Advantage. According to some Accounts, the *English* lost 23 capital Ships, with 6000 Men killed, and 2600 taken Prisoners : While the *Dutch* lost only six Ships, and 3000 Men. But other Accounts make the *English* Loss to be no more than nine Men of War taken or burnt : And also make the *Dutch* Loss to be fifteen Ships, with 4000 Men killed, and 1000 wounded. The *English* had two Admirals killed, and one taken Prisoner : The *Dutch* had three Admirals killed. The *English* Narrative says, "It is certain the *Dutch* must every where have suffered a much greater Loss of Men than the *English*, from the Difference in their Manner of Fighting : For the *Dutch* firing high, and at a great Distance, damaged the *English* most in their Rigging : and the *English* forbearing to shoot but when they came near, and then levelling most at their Hulls, must needs have done more Execution upon their Men." Lord *Arlington* informed Sir *William Temple*, that the *Dutch* had the Advantage of carrying Home their Trophies ; whereas the *English* had not one ; for what the *Dutch* lost

lost were all drowned or burnt. *De Wit* acknowledged, A. D. "that *Englishmen* may be killed, *English Ships* may be ^{1666.} burned; but *English Courage* is invincible." A Dispute which might have been adjusted in half an Hour, was still to continue a War, wherein many Thousands of gallant and innocent Men were wantonly sacrificed. Nor should it be omitted, that the House of Commons, when the War was ended, voted the Separation of the *English Fleet* to be one of its Miscarriages. Both Nations had Resources, and both had Resolution to continue their Quarrel. The injurious Method of impressing Mariners into the Service was practised in *England*; but the *Dutch* used such Means as invited their Men, instead of compelling them on board. *De Ruyter* repaired his Fleet, put again to Sea with 90 Sail, and appeared at the Mouth of the *Thames* in the beginning of *July*, but he was now as unsuccessful, as he was off the *Kentish Coast* in 1652; though, in 1667, he was as victorious as *Trump* had been off the *Goodwins* fifteen Years before. The *English Fleet* of eighty Sail, commanded by the same Admirals, lay as far up the River as the Buoy in the *Nore*; where they continued till the 19th of *July*, when they weighed; and, on the 25th, came up with the Enemy off the *North Foreland*. The Sight of their Country, the Desire of Glory, and the Hopes of Revenge, inspirited the meanest Man in the *British Fleet*, when they began the third Engagement about Noon. Prince *Rupert*, and the Duke of *Albemarle*, commanded on board the same Ship, and attacked *De Ruyter* with the red Squadron; while Sir *Jeremy Smith*, with the Blue, singled out *Van Trump*; and Sir *Thomas Allen*, with the White, engaged young *Evertzen*. The Battle lasted the whole Day, with various Success, and ended in Favour of the *English*; who obliged *De Ruyter* to retire in the Night, and pursued him the next Day, 'till he found Protection in the Shallows of his own dangerous Coast, as he had done in 1652. The *Dutch* had twenty Ships taken or destroyed; with 4000 Men killed, and 3000 wounded. The Admirals *Evertzen*, *De Uries*, and *Koenders* being among the former, as also some Captains, who were
very

A. D. 1646. very much esteemed. But the *English* Loss was so considerable, that only one Ship was missing, and three Captains killed, with little more than 600 Men: So that *D'Estrades* informed the *French* Monarch, "The Victory of the *English* could not be disputed, because they were *Masters of the Sea*."

DE RUYTER complained of *Trump*, and got him dismissed the Service; though his own Merit, and the Actions of his Father, made him the greatest Favourite among the Seamen, who threatened to mutiny, and destroy the Republic by their own Dissentions. *De Wit* was distressed in the Cabinet, and *De Ruyter* unable to put to Sea with the Fleet, when the Duke of *Albemarle* detached Sir *Robert Holmes* with twenty Ships to brave the *Dutch* on their very Coasts. *Holmes* entered the Road of *Vlie*, where he burnt two Men of War, and 106 Merchantmen: He then sailed to *Schelling*, and burnt the large and rich Village of *Brandaris*, whereby the *Dutch* sustained a Loss of about Six Millions of Florins.

THIS made the Merchants exclaim against the Administration, and unite with the *Orange* Faction; which occasioned the *French* Monarch to hasten the Arrival of the Duke of *Beaufort*, to join *De Ruyter*. The *Dutch* Admiral put out again to Sea in September, and cruised near the Straits of *Dover*, in Hopes of joining the *French* Admiral; who indeed failed to his Assistance with Forty-three Ships, but was not able to join him, and had one of his Ships taken by the *English*, before he withdrew into *Brest*. Prince *Rupert* obliged *De Ruyter* to retire into *St. John's Road* near *Bologne*; which was the first Time the *Dutch* fled without striking a Blow: But a Storm obliged his Highness to retire into *St. Helen's*; and *De Ruyter* got back to *Holland* before the Enemy was refitted.

THE Plague, which had desolated the Kingdom, and the War which had impoverished the People, encouraged some disaffected Persons to think of disturbing the Government, and establishing the old levelling Principles. But the Parliament was farther prorogued, and this new
Republican

Republican Plot was discovered in *April*. It was A. D. given out by Authority, "that the Conspirators intended to fire the City of *London*, and that the 3d of *September* was pitched upon for the Attempt, as being found by *Lilly's Almanack*, and a Scheme erected for that Purpose, to be a lucky Day; a Planet then ruling, which prognosticated the Downfall of Monarchy." Eight Persons, who were Officers or Soldiers under *Cromwell*, were executed at *Tyburn* for this Conspiracy, about four Months before *London* was actually destroyed by Fire; and many others were afterwards executed in *Scotland*.

THE dreadful Fire of *London* is one of the most striking Objects in the *English History*: It began on the 2d of *September*, about Midnight, in a Bakehouse, near *London Bridge*; from whence it spread with great Violence, and was driven with great Fury by a strong easterly Wind. Nothing could resist the Rapidity of the Flames, till the greatest Part of the City was laid in Ashes. The Streets were very close; the Buildings were of Lath and Timber, filled with Plaister, and the Season had been exceeding dry; all which concurred to make the Conflagration more sudden, dreadful, and violent. The Stores of Oil, Pitch, Sulphur, Bitumen, Flax, Hemp, Tallow, and other combustible Goods in Shops and Warehouses, increased the Flames, which nothing could extinguish. Great Flakes of Fire, and burning Matter, were carried to distant Places, which destroyed the lofty Edifices before the Fire could make its Way through the other Buildings. The Conflagration continued four Days, and was then happily extinguished, by blowing up some Houses. It consumed Eighty-nine Churches, the City Gates, *Guild-Hall*, many public Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a vast Number of stately Edifices, 13,200 dwelling Houses, and 400 Streets. Of the Twenty-six Wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and burnt. The Ruins of the City were 436 Acres, from the *Tower* by the *Thames* Side, to the *Temple Church*; and from the *North-west Gate*, along the City Wall, to *Halbourn-bridge*. The Damage was immense in the
Loss

A.D. 1666. Loss of Houses : And Effects were consumed to the Value of a Million Sterling ; but no Lives were lost.

The King and the Duke of York headed the Guards ; and were extremely active, in seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the Fire, or for carrying off Persons and Goods to the Fields all about *London*. The *Monument* was soon afterwards erected, in Commemoration of this Fire, at the Distance of two hundred and two Feet, which is the Height of the Column, from the Place where it began. The Inscription engraved by Authority on this Edifice, countenanced the popular Prejudices, in ascribing this Calamity to the Papists : But King *James* ordered that Clause to be obliterated when he came to the Throne ; which however was replaced at the Revolution, and remains as an obstinate Mark of National Credulity. The Republicans were also charged by some People with this Guilt ; which was likewise laid upon the *Dutch* : But no Proof was ever found against any Persons ; though the strictest Enquiry was made by a Committee of Parliament. It is true, one *Hubert*, a *Frenchman*, confessed he was guilty of the Fact ; for which he was condemned and executed : But he was a Lunatic ; and it afterwards appeared he was not in *London* at the Time the Fire began. Some pious and religious People thought it was the just Vengeance of Heaven, on a City where Vice and Immorality reigned so openly and shamefully ; and which had not been sufficiently humbled by the raging Pestilence of the preceding Years.

THIS Devastation was severely felt at that Time ; but it was afterwards attended with very happy Consequences. The City soon rose out of its own Ashes with a Splendor, Convenience, and Regularity, which conveyed Honour to the Nation. The King published a Declaration, ordering the City to be rebuilt with Brick or Stone ; which at any other time would have been esteemed an *unconstitutional* Act. When the City lay in Ruins all were in haste to rebuild, and it was proper some Regulation should be observed ; on which Account the Parliament afterwards prescribed Rules to

be

be regarded in all the Buildings within the Bills of Mor-A. D. tality; wherein the old Method of Lath and Timber^{1566.} were prohibited. Lord Chief Justice *Hale* obtained great Reputation, in framing the Act for rebuilding the City, with so much Judgment and Foresight, as to prevent any Suits at Law, which would have been a second Charge on the City, not much less than the Fire itself had been. *London* was rebuilt in less than Five Years, to the Amazement of all *Europe*. It was surprizing to think where the Wealth could be found, to bear so great a Loss as was made by the Fire, and so prodigious an Expence as was laid out in rebuilding the Metropolis; which demonstrated, that the intrinsic Wealth of the Nation was very high, when it could answer such a dead Charge. If the noble Plan laid down by Sir *Christopher Wren* had been put in Execution, *London* would have been the most magnificent City that ever was built in *Europe*, or even in *Asia*. But, in the Manner it was re-edified, it received surprizing Improvements, was almost doubly extended in Magnitude, was much more populously inhabited, and has ever since been improving and extending itself; so that *London* has become the most superb and opulent Metropolis in the World, containing about a Million of Inhabitants, which is more than double the Number it held in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who thought it too large and populous in her Time.

It is remarkable, that *London* was destroyed by Fire in 1132, and much damaged in 1136; as also in 1561, and 1632. But, after the Fire of 1666, it became more healthy to the Inhabitants, and less liable to Danger; whereby a Stop was put to the Plague, which was always lurking in some Corner of the City; and Fires are rendered less frequent, as well as less terrible, among the Inhabitants, who have received very great Advantages by the Establishment of Insurance-Offices.

DURING this Calamity at home, the *Swedes* offered their Mediation abroad: But Peace was so little thought of, that his *Britannic* Majesty declared War against the King of *Denmark*. The Seventh Session of Parliament

was

A. D. 1666. was opened, on the 21st of *September*, at *Westminster*, after a long Recess of ten Months and three Weeks. His Majesty told them, " They saw the dismal Ruins the Fire had made ; and that nothing but a Miracle of God's Mercy could have preserved what was left from the same Destruction. He said, they had two very great and powerful Enemies : That the War was more chargeable by that Conjunction ; and that if he had not, by anticipating his Revenues, raised a very great Sum of Money, he had not been able to have set out the Fleet this last Summer." This Anticipation of the Revenue was disregarded at present by the Parliament ; but a Resolution was made against it in 1680 ; though, in 1690, the King was impowered to mortgage his Revenues ; which impoverished the Nation by the Introduction of Funds. A Supply was not expressly demanded ; but it was evidently expected. The Parliament thanked his Majesty for his great Care in the Management of the War ; as also for his great Care and Endeavour to prevent the burning of the City of *London*. The Commons voted a Royal Aid of One Million and eight hundred thousand Pounds for carrying on the War ; which thus, in the Space of two Years, cost the People of *England* Five Millions, five hundred, and fifty thousand Pounds. The new Supply was to be levied, partly by a Poll, and partly by Assessments : But the Measures of the Court were somewhat retarded by the Jealousy of the Commons, who prevailed on the King to issue another Proclamation for the Banishment of all Popish Priests and Jesuits. This put the Parliament in a better Humour, and they adjourned to the 2d of *January* : But no great Confidence was placed in the Sincerity of the King, whenever he pretended to discountenance the Catholic Religion ; because his Attachment to it began to be suspected.

In *Scotland*, the Presbyterians were impatient of the Hardships they sustained under the Prevalence of Episcopacy, and the Authority of the Army. They were inflamed by some of their Ministers, who persuaded them, that the War, the Plague, and the Fire of *London*,

don, had thrown every thing in Disorder at Court; and A. D. that any vigorous Attempts would restore the *Scotch* to ^{1666.} their former Condition. The Spirit of Rebellion was soon raised, notwithstanding the late Execution of the Conspirators in *England*: The People ran together; and, on the 13th of *November*, 200 of them seized Sir *James Turner* at *Dumfries*; while his Soldiers were scattered in Parties round the Country for levying the Fines on the Presbyterians. They threatened to put him to Death; and their Party increased in the Western Counties, so as to alarm both the Councils of *London* and *Edinburgh*. The Rebels were called *Whigs*, which afterwards came to be a remarkable Word of Party-Distinction in *England*. They assembled at *Lanerk*, to the Number of two thousand, headed by some fanatic Preachers, who renewed the Covenant, and published a Manifesto, in which they desired the Restoration of Presbytery, and a Redress of Grievances. The Earl of *Argyle* raised fifteen hundred Men to oppose them; but his Service was rejected by the Council, who put *Dalziel* at the Head of what Troops could be assembled. *Parker* differs in his Account from *Burnet*, by saying, that *Deyel*, (by whom he means *Dalziel*) and *Drummond*, who had been at the Head of the *Russian* Forces, commanded against the Rebels. He says, the King's Troops marched after them towards *Edinburgh*; and came up with them within two Miles of that City, on the 29th of *November*; as they were returning to *Lanerk*, and were reduced to 1200 Men. *Parker* asserts, "They fought stiffly on both sides: that the King's Forces were obliged to give Ground; but that *Drummond*, and the Duke of *Hamilton*, flanked them, which put them in Disorder, and routed them. Eighty were slain, and as many taken: But, because the Battle was begun at the Approach of Night, the Flight was greater than the Slaughter." The good Bishop very charitably represents this, "as an universal Conspiracy, which was seasonably broke by this Battle: He says, about thirty were hanged at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*; and that the Prisoners laid all the Blame of their Villainy upon their Preachers."

A. D. 1665. THIS Engagement was at *Pentland-Hill*; and *Burnet* says, "that three or fourscore Gentlemen were marching towards the Rebels when they heard of their Defeat, and upon that they dispersed themselves." He makes the Engagement very inconsiderable; "as the Rebellion was broken with the Loss of only five on the King's Side; that about Forty Rebels were killed on the Spot, and One hundred and thirty taken; that the King's Troops were not in Condition to pursue them, and had no great Heart to it: for they were a poor, harmless Company of Men, become mad by Oppression; and they had taken nothing during all the Time they had been together, but what had been given them by the Country People." Bishop *Burnet* adds, "The common Observation, that Cruelty and Cowardice go together, was visibly verified on this Occasion. It was a moving Sight to see Ten of the Prisoners hanged upon one Gibbet at *Edinburgh*: Thirty-five more were sent to their Countries, and hanged up before their own Doors; their Ministers all the while using them hardly, and declaring them damned for their Rebellion. They might have saved their Lives if they would have renounced the Covenant; so they were really a sort of Martyrs for it."

THUS different is the Account given by the Bishops of *Oxford* and *Salisbury* of this Rebellion, which was begun and ended in sixteen Days. The former obtained his Mitre from King *James* the Second; and the latter had his Crosier from King *William* the Third: So that they were diametrically opposite in Principles; and *Burnet* says, "The most violent of all that writ against the Sects was *Parker*, who was full of satyrical Vivacity, and considerably learned; but was a Man of no Judgment, and as little Virtue; and as to Religion rather impious." The King ordered, that no more Blood should be shed; that such of the Prisoners as should promise to obey the Laws for the future should be set at Liberty; and that the incorrigible should be sent to the Plantations. But *Burnet* says, that Mr. *Maccail*, a Probationer Preacher, was put to the Torture, and lost his

his Life by the Cruelty of it, after the King's Mercy A. D. was declared. This Torture is called in *Scotland* the ^{1666.}

Boots : For they put a Pair of Iron Boots close on the Leg, and drive Wedges between these and the Leg. The common Torture was only to drive these in the Calf of the Leg : But it is reported they were sometimes driven upon the Shin-Bone. The Government wanted to extort a Confession from *Maccail* about the Conspiracy : But, says *Burnet*, he bore the Torture with amazing Constancy ; and either could say nothing, or had the Firmness not to discover who had trusted him. For all the Pains of the Torture he died in a Rapture of Joy : His last Words, well worthy to be recorded, were, " Farewel Sun, Moon, and Stars ; farewel Kindred and Friends ; farewel World and Time ; farewel weak and frail Body : Welcome Eternity ; welcome Angels and Saints ; welcome Saviour of the World ; and welcome God the Judge of all."

THE Forces that awed *Scotland* were ordered to lie in the Western Counties, where the Nonconformist Teachers chiefly resided since they were banished from their Livings, by the Proclamation of last Year. *Dalziel* is said to have acted the *Muscovite* too grossly ; by threatening to spit Men, and roast them alive ; hanging some at his Pleasure, and starving others, by placing his Soldiers upon them with free Quarters. The Clergy are said, to have looked upon the Soldiery as their Patrons : And the Affairs of this Kingdom gave so much Disgust, that the King was obliged to soften his Government there, and entrust it to Persons of some Moderation. Indeed, the late Rebellion could have been so turned in the Conclusion, that the Episcopal Clergy might have gained Reputation and Honour by a wise and merciful Conduct. By acting otherwise, they exasperated the Country more than ever against the Church. The Severity of nonconforming Laws was both continued and enlarged against the *Scotch*, till 1679, when they assassinated Archbishop *Sharp*, and broke out into a more formidable Rebellion, which was suppressed by the Duke of *Monmouth*. The *Scotch*
Bishops

A. D. ^{1666.} Bishops were afterwards too much attached to the Interest of the Court: They even stood by *James* the Second when he was deserted by the *English* Bishops: Which induced *William* the Third to abolish Episcopacy in *Scotland*; and the Presbyterians then became so rigid to the Episcopalians, that they refused them a Toleration till after the Union.

A. D. ^{1667.} SECRETARY *Bennet* had been created Earl of *Arlington*, and was daily supplanting the Chancellor in his Interest, whose Gravity became the Ridicule of *Buckingham's* Buffoonery. This Duke, and the Lord *Affley*, began to be troublesome to the Court; because the former had been disappointed in his Expectations of obtaining the *Presidentship of the North*; and the latter wanted to climb higher up the Ladder of Ambition than he had hitherto ascended. The Parliament met again, on the 2d of *January*, and accused Lord *Mordaunt*, the Governour of *Windsor* Castle, with high Crimes and Misdemeanors, in the Execution of his Office: Which only ended in a Dispute between both Houses concerning their Privileges. They also disagreed so far about inspecting the public Accompts, that the Commons threatened to impeach the Chancellor, for putting the great Seal to a Commission made out for that Purpose, in consequence of a Petition from the Lords to his Majesty. It was found impossible to execute that Commission; and an Impeachment was brought against the Chancellor in the next Session of Parliament.

THE Nation was at War with three potent Enemies, without any Confederate; and yet the Commons had retarded the Supply, which prevented the immediate Prosecution of vigorous Measures against the *Dutch*, who were insidiously preparing a secret and destructive Blow to *England*. His Majesty came full of Indignation to the House of Lords, on the 18th, and passed the Poll Bill, the Cattle Bill, and another for burying in Woollen only. He told them, "He had anticipated that small Part of his Revenue which was unanticipated, for Payment of the Seamen; and his Credit had gone farther

ther than he had Reason to think it would ; but it was now at an End." The Commons afterwards proceeded to finish the Supply ; and, on the 8th of *February*, his Majesty put an End to the Session, when he passed the Bill for the Monthly Assessment, and two others relating to the rebuilding of *London*. He parted with some Appearance of Anger, and prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of *October* ; which put an End to the seventh Session, or rather Meeting, of the second and Long Parliament : But a Sort of an intermediate Session was held in the Summer.

BUCKINGHAM was disgraced, and discarded from all his Employments, for spiriting up the Commons to delay the Supply. However, no Care was taken to carry on the War ; with which the King was now heartily disgusted ; as it had conveyed no Advantage to himself, nor Honour to the Nation. He intimated to his Parliament, he should refuse no reasonable Overtures of Peace : Which his Ministers said was necessary, as well on Account of the Vicinity and Potency of his United Enemies ; as the great Expences of the War, carried on with much Disadvantage, by Reason of the Plague and dismal Fire of *London*. The *Dutch* had suffered great Losses, and had annually spent about three Millions Sterling, during this War ; which made the People very desirous of a Peace. The *French* had dispossessed the *English* of Part of the Island of *St. Christophers*, and were endeavouring to conquer some other Places in the *West-Indies* : But *Lewis* had Designs upon *Spain* ; whose Monarch was dead ; and therefore *France* was not averse to an Accommodation. *Sweden* offered to be the Mediator : But the Negotiation was protracted, to give *De Wit* an Opportunity of turning it to his own Advantage.

HIS *Britannic* Majesty, at first, insisted the States should send their Deputies to *London* ; that he might maintain his Superiority as a sovereign Prince : But this was refused ; because the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* would not depart from their Dignity.

THE

A. D. 1667. THE Earl of *St. Albans* was in the Service of the Queen-Mother at *Paris*; and actually married to her, if Sir *John Reresby* is to be credited in his Memoirs. By his Influence, the Scale took a sudden Turn; and his *Britannic Majesty* offered to treat at the *Hague*. *De Wit* was alarmed at this Condescension, as he suspected it would give the *English* Ministers an Opportunity of undermining his Authority, by carrying on an Opposition against him in Favour of a Stadtholder. It was then proposed, that a Congress should be held at a neutral Place; and it was at last fixed at *Breda*, where the Ministers of all the contending and mediatorial Powers assembled on the 20th of *May*.

LORD *Holles* and Mr. *Coventry* were the *English* Ministers: The *French* were Count *d'Estrades* and Mr. *Courtin*: *Klingenberg* and *Consius* acted for *Denmark*: The States sent *Beverninch*, *Hubert*, and *Yongstal*: And Count *De Dbona* and *Fleming* were the Mediators from *Sweden*. The Conferences were immediately opened: But unhappily obstructed for *England*, whose King had undertaken the War to procure Reparation for the Damages committed upon his Subjects. He, therefore, insisted upon a Satisfaction for the two Ships called the *Good Hope*, and the *Ben Adventure*: As also upon the Delivery of the Island of *Poleton*, pursuant to the Treaty of 1662. The *Dutch* refused to comply with these Demands; because *Poleton* was one of the *Moluccas*, and was fit for Plantations of Clove-Trees; which would prove very prejudicial to the *Dutch* Spice-Trade, if it was restored to the *English*, who were dispossessed of this Island, at the same Time they were massacred at *Amboina*. By the Treaty of Peace with *Cromwell*, in 1654, the *Dutch* agreed to put the *English* in Repossession of *Poleton*; which they did, after demolishing the Plantations, and depopulating the Island: But they had seized it again during the War; and were now unwilling to surrender it up by a Peace.

THIS trivial Dispute spun out the Treaty to a considerable Time; though every Thing else was adjusted, on the Terms of both Parties continuing in Possession of what

what they had acquired during the War. The King A. D. receded from his Demand on *Polemon*; and confined ^{1667.} himself to the Satisfaction for the two Ships, which were the only Things particularly specified in his Declaration of War. This Claim could not amount to 10,000 *l.* Sterling; and the *Dutch* refused to satisfy it; because it was breaking through the other Agreement: Which impolitic Procrastination, and the Negligence of Affairs in *England*, opened a violent Way for the *Dutch* to exert their naval Power, and accelerate a Peace on more honourable Terms than they had proposed.

DE WIT had drawn the *English* Ministry into a Snare, and took Advantage of their Negligence, by equipping a formidable Fleet to invade *England*: While *Charles* relied on the Certainty of a Peace, and kept no Fleet in readiness for the War. The *Dutch* had refused a Suspension of Arms; which ought to have put *England* upon its Guard: But *Charles* had only twenty Ships fit for the Sea; when *De Wit* had seventy ready for sailing: For, as *Ruvigny* observed to *Clarendon*, "The War was for his Interest, though not for his Masters." The Pensionary was desirous of gratifying his Ambition and his Revenge together: He neglected the Dangers on Land, to gain the Superiority at Sea: And, while *England* was lulled in a shameful Security, he meditated a Blow that threw her into immediate Convulsions, and loaded her with eternal Disgrace.

WHILE the Peace of *Breda* was so insignificantly retarded, the *Dutch* Admiral set sail from the *Texel*, with fifty capital Ships, to burn the Royal Navy of *England*, when it lay impotently moored and unguarded in the noble Harbour of *Chatham*. This was somewhat similar to what had been done by *Van Trump* in 1653: But *Cromwell* was then ready to give them a proper Reception. The bold and experienced *De Ruyter* was at the Head of this Fleet; with the younger *De Wit* on Board, in Quality of the States-Deputy; and they were too well informed of the Strength and Situation of the *English* Navy. To cover their Design, the Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent*, was detached with a Squadron towards the

A. D. Coast of *Scotland*; who entered the Frith of *Forth*, on ^{1667.} the 1st of *May*, to seize the Ships that were in the Harbour of *Leith*; as a Retaliation for what *Holmes* had done the Year before in the Road of *Väe*. The Harbour of *Leith* was then full of Ships; and *Van Ghent* might have succeeded as well as *Holmes*, if he had hung out *English* Colours, and resolutely pushed in; while the *Scotch* were in Expectation of a Squadron under Sir *Jeremy Smith*. But *Van Ghent* contented himself with only firing against *Bruntisland*, and alarming the Coast: After which he withdrew, and rejoined *De Ruyter*, who proceeded upon the grand Design.

THE *Dutch* Fleet appeared off the Mouth of the *Thames*, on the 8th of *June*; and, on the 10th, *Van Ghent* sailed up the *Medway*, with seventeen Men of War, and some Fireships. The *English* were thrown into the utmost Consternation; and the *Dutch* met with no Resistance, that could stop their Progress, or retard their Fury. *Sheerness* and *Upnor-Castle* had been fortified: A Chain was thrown across the *Medway*; and several Ships sunk in the River: But in vain. The *Dutch* destroyed *Sheerness*; broke the Chain; sailed through the sunk Ships; and passed up beyond *Upnor-Castle*. The Duke of *Albemarle*, the Earl of *Carlisle*, and the Earl of *Middleton*, exerted themselves to oppose the Enemy: But they had neither Sailors, or Soldiers, sufficient to guard the Ships, or prevent the *Dutch* from Landing; who had already burnt the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and *Charles the Fifth*, three large Men of War which had been taken from them before, and were posted to guard the Chain. They also burnt the *Royal-Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*: After which they carried off the *Royal Charles*, went back, and made no farther Attempt.

THE Duke of *Albemarle* afterwards drew up a Report of the Affair at *Chatham*, and laid it before the Parliament; wherein he exposes the Negligence of Commissioner *Pett*; and says, "that he found scarce 12 of 800 Men, which were in the King's Pay, in his Majesty's Yards." *Pett* was impeached in Consequence of
this

this Report: And the Commons resolved, " that, not- A. D. withstanding his Majesty had 18,000 Men in Pay, in 1667, dispersed Ships in the Year 1667, there was not a sufficient Number of Ships left to secure the Rivers *Medway* and *Thames*."

THE Court, the City, and Country, were in the utmost Consternation. The King was censured by the People; and reproached himself for being the Cause of this Insult; which *Parker* calls a downright Piracy. It was apprehended the *Dutch* Fleet would sail up to *London-Bridge*; for the Prevention of which, thirteen Ships were sunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Blackwall*, with Platforms furnished with Artillery for their Defence. The Train-Bands were called out: But *De Ruyter* failed to the Coast of *Suffolk*, and made an unsuccessful Attempt upon *Landguard* Fort, which was bravely defended by Governor *Darrel*. The *Dutch* Admiral then proceeded to *Portsmouth*, with a Design to burn the Ships in that Harbour: But the Attempt was ineffectual; and he succeeded no better at *Plymouth*. However, Sir *Edward Spragg*, with nineteen Ships, was chased into the *Thames*: So that *De Ruyter* kept the Coasts of *England* in a continual Alarm, till he received the News of the Conclusion of a Peace; and, if the *French* had joined him, the Consequences must have been fatal.

THE *United States* had put themselves under the Protection of *England* eighty-two Years before, and implored the Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the same Manner as the *Britons*, poor and distressed like the *Dutch*, applied for Relief to *Aetius* the Roman General in 446. These low and weak Republicans were sheltered from every Storm beneath the Shade of the *English* Oak, till they assumed to themselves the Title of *High and Mighty*; so as to turn their Arms upon their Protectors; for which they were brought to Repentance at the Footstool of *Cromwell*. But now their Admiral *De Ruyter* insulted the Coasts of *England*, more than *Van Trump* had done in the Year 1652; and actually rode Sovereign of the Sea; which obliged the *English* Am-

their Territories. The *Dutch* having been expelled A. D. from *New-York* in *North-America* by the *English*; who 1667 had also been driven out of *Surinam* in *South-America* by the *Dutch*, to whom it formerly belonged; *New-York* was now ceded to his *Britannic Majesty*, and *Surinam* to the States: * Which was the only Advantage that *England* acquired by the War; nor was it inconsiderable, as *New-York* has since proved of the utmost Utility to *Great-Britain*. The *English* were to restore *Acadia* in *North-America* to the *French*; who, in Return, were to restore what they had taken from the *English* in the *West-Indies*. The *Hamburgh Debt* was remitted to *Denmark*: And this terminated the War, which had cost *England* almost six Millions in Specie, besides the Loss of many Ships. It is true, the *Dutch* were put to an equal Expence, and lost a greater Number of Ships: But his *Britannic Majesty* was disappointed in his Views of humbling the Pride of that flourishing Republic, whose Power in *Europe* was now supported by their rich Settlements in *Asia* and *Africa*.

THE Ratifications of the Treaty were exchanged at *Breda*, on the 14th of *August*; and the Peace was formally proclaimed at *London*, and the *Hague*, on the 24th: When the People mutually rejoiced; as they were now mutually sensible, that their Quarrels had afforded the *French* an Opportunity of creating a maritime Power, and given Wings to an Enemy to fly against them both at her Pleasure.

It was expected, that the *Dutch* would have insisted upon a Repeal of the Act of Navigation; which had given them great Disgust ever since the Year 1651: But it was impossible for *England* to make such a Condescension; and a new Treaty of Commerce was also concluded with the *Dutch*, which was renewed in 1668, and 1674. This Year, a Treaty of Peace and Friendship was likewise concluded, by the Earl of *Sandwich*, at *Madrid*, between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*; for regulating the Commerce of both Kingdoms: Which

* See Rolt's *History of South-America*, p. 499.

A. D. was renewed in 1670. These Treaties are proper to be
 1667. consulted, as they were afterwards brought into great
 Dispute in the Wars between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*:
 But are much too long to admit of the shortest
 Abridgment in this Work; and are to be found at
 length in *Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, under
 the Article TREATY.

THE *French* Monarch was greatly suspected in *Hol-*
land, of carrying on a secret Correspondence with *Eng-*
land: For he had given no real Assistance to the *Dutch*
 during the War; and he acted the Part of a Mediator,
 instead of a Principal for a Peace. *Lewis* wanted to
 make *Charles* his Friend, to favour his Designs upon
 the *Spanish Netherlands*, which he invaded this Sum-
 mer, on Account of his Queen's Pretensions to *Bra-*
bant, after the Death of her Father the King of *Spain*:
 But he was opposed by *England*, as well as several other
 Powers. The *English* Merchants began to complain of
 the Expences of the War; and the People in general
 murmured at the Conduct of the Court, especially as
 the King dissipated his large Revenues in obliging his
 Mistresses, and indulging himself in Pleasures unwor-
 thy of a Monarch. All the Errors of the War were
 imputed to the Earl of *Clarendon*; though every Thing
 was managed by other Counsels. The King had with-
 drawn his Favour from this worthy Minister, whose
 Ruin was determined, as the noblest Victim that could
 be sacrificed to the Resentment of the Populace.

THE Seals were taken from the Lord Chancellor,
 on the 31st of *August*, and given to Sir *Orlando Bridg-*
man, who was appointed Lord-Keeper; which is an
 Office somewhat inferior to the Chancellorship. The
 Duke of *Buckingham* was readmitted to Court, and
 became the Favourite of the King; on a Compromise
 that the Earl of *Clarendon* should be hunted down to
 the Brink of Ruin; in which Pursuit *Buckingham* was
 joined by *Albemarle* and *Arlington*. It was unhappy for
 the Chancellor, that his Friend the Earl of *Southampton*
 was dead; as also were his Grandsons, the Dukes of
Cambridge and *Kendal*: The Duke of *Ormond* was in
 Ireland:

Ireland: So that the Duke of *York*, and Archbishop *A. D. Sheldon*, were the only principal Persons who had the ^{1667.} Courage to adhere to the degraded Minister; and the former was taken ill of the Small-Pox, when he was mostly wanted to assist his Father-in-Law.

THE eighth Session was introduced by some popular Steps, and the Parliament met again on the 10th of *October*. They presented an Address to his Majesty, and particularly thanked him, "for disbanding the late raised Forces; dismissing the Papists from out of his Guards, and other military Employments; as also for displacing the late Lord Chancellor." His Majesty promised them; he would never employ the Earl of *Clarendon* again, in any public Affairs whatsoever. This was declaring him to be free Game; and the Commons, to whom, says *Parker*, "a prime Minister is the most elegant Moriel," began to open the Cry, on the 26th of *October*, by taking into Examination the Conduct of that Nobleman, to whose Charge Mr. *Edward Seymour* laid many great and heinous Crimes.

THE Accusation was contained in seventeen Articles; whereby the Earl was charged, "with having designed a Standing - Army to be raised; and advised the King to govern by a military Power, without Parliaments: That he had *falsly* and *seditionously* said, the King was in his Heart a Papist, or Popishly affected: That he had acquired Money illegally in his Office: That he had introduced an arbitrary Government in the *British* Plantations; and frustrated a Project for reducing the *French* Plantations: That he advised and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk*: That he had betrayed the Nation in all foreign Treaties; and was the principal Author of that fatal Council of dividing the Fleet in 1666."

COMMON Fame is no Ground to condemn a Man, where Matter of Fact is not clear: Yet the House voted the Impeachment of this illustrious Person, on general Affirmations that the Charge would be proved. Mr. *Seymour*, on the 12th of *November*, carried up the Impeachment of High-Treason to the Lords; and desired

A. D. 1667. them to commit the Earl to safe Custody : Which they refused ; and the Commons voted that Refusal to be an Obstruction to public Justice. They also appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration to vindicate their Proceedings : Upon which, the accused Lord thought proper to withdraw himself from the Violence of his Enemies, and to seek a Refuge in *France*. However, his Lordship left an Apology behind him, which he addressed to the House of Peers ; wherein he vindicated himself from what was laid to his Charge. He said, he was as innocent from Corruption, as from any disloyal Thought ; and that he owed all his Fortune to the Bounty of his Majesty. He declared, it was his Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom proceeded from the War, to which it was notoriously known that he was always averse : That he opposed the Payment of Seamen by Tickets ; was far from being the sole Manager of Affairs ; and had very little Credit at Court since the Parliament at *Oxford*. He complained, that he was unjustly persecuted : And, when his Apology was communicated by the Lords to the Commons, it was condemned to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, as a scandalous and malicious Libel. The Commons proposed a Bill of Attainder against the unfortunate Earl : But the Lords prevailed on them to be satisfied with a Bill for his Banishment and Incapacity ; which was passed on the 18th of *December* ; though the Lords looked upon the Charge so slight as not to imprison the condemned Person, who had been persuaded by the King to leave the Kingdom. Sixty-five Lords were for the Bill ; and forty-two against it, including five who entered their Protests. Nothing could be more frivolous than the Pretences upon which the principal Articles were founded ; and, if some of the least material were within the Bounds of Truth, they were all exaggerated by Malice. It was said, the Lords would neither secure nor summon him ; and yet would condemn him unheard ; which was against Honour and Justice.

THUS

THUS fell the illustrious Earl of *Clarendon*, by the In-
 gratitude of a King, whom he had faithfully served. A. D. 1667.
 about thirty Years; and by the Violence of a Parlia-
 ment, which had long acted under his own Influence :
 But this is not the only Instance of an able Politician
 contributing to his own Ruin, by adhering to such
 Projects as were apparently calculated for the national
 Advantage. Cardinal *Thomas Woolsey*, who was Lord
 Chancellor to *Henry* the Eighth, suffered much in the
 same Manner by a Bill of Indictment; and, as he was
 reproached for erecting a magnificent Palace; the Earl
 of *Clarendon* was censured for building a spacious
 House, which the Mob rudely called *Dunkirk-House*.
 Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, in 1621, was impeached for
 Bribery and Corruption; when he had the Seals taken
 from him; with no great Appearance of Justice: In
 his Retirement he wrote his History of *Henry* the Se-
 venth; in which he was imitated by the Earl of *Clar-*
endon: But we shall not extend the Comparison be-
 tween them any farther: Nor compare the Lord Keeper
Finch with either of these eminent Men; for he was ac-
 cused of High Treason, in 1640, for favouring Popery;
 and *Clarendon* was persecuted for opposing it; though
 both fled out of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Clarendon*
 was as faithful and able a Minister to *Charles* the Se-
 cond, as the Earl of *Salisbury* had been to *James* the
 First. He was much more worthy of Protection from
 the Prince to whom he was nearly allied, than the
 Duke of *Buckingham* was from his Father, when the
 Commons impeached the Lord High Admiral in 1626,
 upon a Charge of the same Nature as had been alledged
 against the Lord High Chancellor. The Earl of *Straf-*
ford, in 1641, was hunted down by the Commons in
 the same Manner as the Earl of *Clarendon*: They were
 both hated, for opposing Presbytery; and were both
 charged with instilling arbitrary Principles into the
 Minds of their Sovereigns: But nothing less than the
 Blood of *Strafford* would satisfy his Enemies; though
Charles the First endeavoured to save his Minister after
 he was attainted, of levying Money in *Ireland* by Force.

A. D. 1667. them to commit the Earl to safe Custody : Which they refused ; and the Commons voted that Refusal to be an Obstruction to public Justice. They also appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration to vindicate their Proceedings : Upon which, the accused Lord thought proper to withdraw himself from the Violence of his Enemies, and to seek a Refuge in *France*. However, his Lordship left an Apology behind him, which he addressed to the House of Peers ; wherein he vindicated himself from what was laid to his Charge. He said, he was as innocent from Corruption, as from any disloyal Thought ; and that he owed all his Fortune to the Bounty of his Majesty. He declared, it was his Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom proceeded from the War, to which it was notoriously known that he was always averse : That he opposed the Payment of Seamen by Tickets ; was far from being the sole Manager of Affairs ; and had very little Credit at Court since the Parliament at *Oxford*. He complained, that he was unjustly persecuted : And, when his Apology was communicated by the Lords to the Commons, it was condemned to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, as a scandalous and malicious Libel. The Commons proposed a Bill of Attainder against the unfortunate Earl : But the Lords prevailed on them to be satisfied with a Bill for his Banishment and Incapacity ; which was passed on the 18th of *December* ; though the Lords looked upon the Charge so slight as not to imprison the condemned Person, who had been persuaded by the King to leave the Kingdom. Sixty-five Lords were for the Bill ; and forty-two against it, including five who entered their Protests. Nothing could be more frivolous than the Pretences upon which the principal Articles were founded ; and, if some of the least material were within the Bounds of Truth, they were all exaggerated by Malice. It was said, the Lords would neither secure nor summon him ; and yet would condemn him unheard ; which was against Honour and Justice.

THUS

THUS fell the illustrious Earl of *Clarendon*, by the In-
gratitude of a King, whom he had faithfully served. A. D. 1667.
about thirty Years; and by the Violence of a Parlia-
ment, which had long acted under his own Influence :
But this is not the only Instance of an able Politician
contributing to his own Ruin, by adhering to such
Projects as were apparently calculated for the national
Advantage. Cardinal *Thomas Woolsey*, who was Lord
Chancellor to *Henry* the Eighth, suffered much in the
same Manner by a Bill of Indictment; and, as he was
reproached for erecting a magnificent Palace; the Earl
of *Clarendon* was censured for building a spacious
House, which the Mob rudely called *Dunkirk-House*.
Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, in 1621, was impeached for
Bribery and Corruption; when he had the Seals taken
from him; with no great Appearance of Justice: In
his Retirement he wrote his History of *Henry* the Se-
venth; in which he was imitated by the Earl of *Clare-*
ndon: But we shall not extend the Comparison be-
tween them any farther: Nor compare the Lord Keeper
Finch with either of these eminent Men; for he was ac-
cused of High Treason, in 1640, for favouring Popery;
and *Clarendon* was persecuted for opposing it; though
both fled out of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Clarendon*
was as faithful and able a Minister to *Charles* the Se-
cond, as the Earl of *Salisbury* had been to *James* the
First. He was much more worthy of Protection from
the Prince to whom he was nearly allied, than the
Duke of *Buckingham* was from his Father, when the
Commons impeached the Lord High Admiral in 1626,
upon a Charge of the same Nature as had been alledged
against the Lord High Chancellor. The Earl of *Straf-*
ford, in 1641, was hunted down by the Commons in
the same Manner as the Earl of *Clarendon*: They were
both hated, for opposing Presbytery; and were both
charged with instilling arbitrary Principles into the
Minds of their Sovereigns: But nothing less than the
Blood of *Strafford* would satisfy his Enemies; though
Charles the First endeavoured to save his Minister after
he was attainted, of levying Money in *Ireland* by Force.

A. D. 1667. That Monarch also entreated for the Life of Archbishop *Laud*, when he was accused and attainted for endeavouring to subvert the Rights of Parliament. Yet *Charles* the Second abandoned a far better Minister than either of them, and left him to seek Protection in a foreign Kingdom, where he had formerly accompanied his Prince in a tedious Exile. But the most illustrious Sufferer in the *English* History, whose Fate may be best compared with that of the Earl of *Clarendon*, is the great and unhappy Duke of *Somerset*, Uncle of King *Henry* the Sixth, and Lord Protector of the Realm: He was blamed for proposing the Restitution of *Boulogne* to *France*; with as much Severity as *Clarendon* was railed against for consenting to the Sale of *Dunkirk*: Nor had the Earl greater Enemies in *Buckingham* and *Arlington*, than the Duke had in *Northumberland* and *Southampton*. The Protector was also censured for building *Somerset-house*; so was the Chancellor for building what was called *Dunkirk-house*: Besides it is remarkable they both offended the Populace, upon these Occasions, in buying the Stones intended for Churches, to erect their Buildings: *Edward* was prejudiced against his Uncle, in 1551, as *Charles* was against *Clarendon*; and *Somerset* was beheaded through the Enmity of Faction, without being proved guilty of any Crime.

THE Enemies of the Earl of *Clarendon*, seem to have been of the same Opinion with *Machiavel*, "that Accusations are useful in a State, because they give a Vent to the Discontent of the People against any overgrown Citizen; which would otherwise burst out in extraordinary Ways, and endanger the Government." But then they seem to have forgot, that Calumnies are more pernicious, than Accusations, are beneficial; which is evident from the Charge laid by *Manlius Capitolinus* against *Furius Camillus*, whom he envied for his Glory, and accused of Corruption: But the Charge was general, like that against *Clarendon*; and *Manlius* was imprisoned, because he could not justify his Charge before the Dictator. It is true, no Member of a Common-wealth

wealth ought to be skreened from a public Accusation: A. D. But when such Accusations are brought through Envy, ¹⁶⁶⁷ rather than for Justice, they are dangerous; as they serve only to ruin great Men, for the Advancement of their Enemies. There is a Distinction between an Accuser, and a Slanderer: The one ought to be rewarded if the Accusation proves true; and the other should be punished if the Charge is false.

THE Earl of *Clarendon* had always been strenuously attached to the Liberty and Constitution of his Country: He loyally served the late King, and faithfully devoted himself to the present: But his Integrity was too great for a Court that had become more vitiated than that of *James the First*. The Austerity of *Clarendon*, in such a profligate Age, was as ludicrously represented by *Buckingham*, as the Stoicism of *Cato* had been by *Anthony*. In Fact, he was too honest for the King, and too virtuous for the Court: Nor was his Country sensible of his Loss, till after his Death. He had rose to great Honours, which he dignified by his Merit; and even his Disgrace added to his Dignity: For he spent the Time of his Exile in composing his excellent *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*; which has evidently magnified his Loyalty, and done more Honour to his Memory, than what his Predecessor *Bacon* acquired in writing the *History of Henry the Seventh*. But what gave a farther Lustre to his Glory, was his being Father-in-law to the Duke of *York*, and Grandfather to two Princesses who successively ascended the Throne. He survived his Banishment six Years, and died at *Roan*, of an Apoplexy, in the Sixty-seventh Year of his Age, and in the Presence of his eldest Son, who succeeded him in his Title; and his second Son was afterwards created Earl of *Rochester*. Thus the Lord *Clarendon* fell under the common Fate of great Ministers; whose Employment exposes them to Envy, and draws upon them the Indignation of all who are disappointed in their Pretensions; which is an Instance, that Princes are so little sensible of Merit or great Services, that they sacrifice their best Servants, not only

A. D. 1667. when their Affairs seem to require it, but to gratify the Humour of a Mistress, or the Passion of a rising Favourite.

As soon as the Act for banishing the Earl of *Clarendon* was passed, the Parliament was adjourned to the 6th of *February*, by the Desire of the King; which was a Condescension never paid by his Father or Grandfather. Though this was only to please the Commons at present; for the King afterwards frequently adjourned the Parliament by his own Authority.

ARCHBISHOP *Sharp* was for a while disgraced in *Scotland*, where Popery was also increasing by his Compliance with the Amours carried on by the Earl of *Rothes*, who also felt the Displeasure of the King. The *Scotch* Army was disbanded, and the Power of *Rothes* discontinued; while the Episcopal Clergy came into Contempt, and the Presbyterian Ministers were punished with less Severity.

A. D. 1668. WHILE *England* and *Holland* had been unnaturally opposing, enfeebling, and impoverishing each other, all *Europe* began to perceive, and to dread, the growing Power of *France*, and the ambitious Designs of *Lewis* the Fourteenth. It has been already seen how the *French* Monarchy rendered itself formidable to *Spain* and *Germany*: The two Branches of the House of *Austria* were declining: The House of *Bourbon* was to be raised on their Ruins: And, as the King of *Spain* was dead, the *French* King cast his Eye upon the *Spanish* Possessions, which he was determined to acquire. His Invasion of the *Netherlands* was wisely opposed, and prevented, by the *Triple Alliance* between *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*: But, four Years afterwards, *Charles* renounced that politic Alliance, and impolitically rushed into a Treaty with *France* for the Destruction of *Holland*.

THE third Period of modern History has been distinguished, by Lord *Bolingbroke*, from the Year 1659 to 1688; "in which Time our Opposition to the growing Power of *France*, or the exorbitant Ambition of the House of *Bourbon*, was the principal Affair of *Europe*."

The

The Design of aspiring to universal Monarchy was imputed to *Charles* the Fifth, who united the whole formidable Power of *Austria* in himself, as soon as he began to give Proofs of his Ambition and Capacity. The same Design was imputed to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, as soon as he began to feel his own Strength, and the Weakness of his Neighbours. Both of these Princes had strong Desires to raise their Families higher, and to extend their Dominions farther: But neither of them had that bold and adventurous Ambition, which makes a Conqueror and a Hero. *Charles* the Fifth was strongly opposed by *Francis* the First of *France*: But *Lewis* the Fourteenth had no Rival of this Kind in the House of *Austria*; nor any Enemy of this Importance to combat, till the Prince of *Orange* became King of *Great-Britain*.

RICHLIEU formed the great Design, and laid the Foundation, for aggrandizing the House of *Bourbon*; by embroiling Affairs on every Side. He kept the House of *Austria* at Bay: Entered into the Quarrels of *Italy* against *Spain*: And stoppt the Progress of *Ferdinand* in *Germany*. He also obtained Advantages of Reputation and Credit, by the Air he gave to his Treaties of Alliance: Whereby *France* appeared the common Friend of Liberty; the Defender of it in the *Low Countries* against the King of *Spain*; and in *Germany* against the Emperor; as well as the Protector of the Princes of the Empire, many of whose States had been illegally invaded, and whose Persons were no longer safe from Violence, even in their own Palaces. All those Appearances were kept up in the Negotiations at *Munster*, where *Mazarine* reaped what *Richlieu* had sowed; for he pursued his Design, and raised the Superstructure upon his Foundation. *France* first became an Overmatch in Arms for *Spain*; and then outwitted her in Policy: Which makes this Period of Time begin by a great Change of the Balance of Power in *Europe*; with the Prospect of one much greater, and more fatal.

LEWIS

A. D. 1668. *LEWIS* the Fourteenth was now the only great and formidable Monarch in *Europe*: He had a veteran Army, and a considerable Navy; with the best Generals, and the ablest Ministers. *Colbert* improved the Wealth, and consequently the Power, of *France*, by the Order he put into the Finances, and by the Encouragement he gave to Trade and Manufactures. Therefore, *Lewis* shewed an Impatience to signalize himself and become a Conqueror; being young, wealthy, and ambitious; perfectly well served, and implicitly obeyed. All this is necessary to be understood; because this Rise of the *French* Power, occasioned almost all the future Wars of *Europe*.

THE *French* Monarch embraced the first Opportunity of exerting his Power; which soon happened, on the Death of his Father-in-law, *Philip* the Fourth of *Spain*; who had been long broken and decayed, like the Monarchy he governed; and his Son *Charles* the Second, rather languished, than lived, from the Cradle to the Grave. *Lewis* the Fourteenth married the Infanta *Maria Theresa*, the Daughter of *Philip*, by his first Wife, who was the Sister of *Lewis* the Thirteenth; by which Marriage the *Spanish* Monarchy at last came into the House of *Bourbon*, its ancient Enemy. So dangerous a Contingency, therefore, as the Union of the two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, being in View forty Years together; it might be imagined that the principal Powers in *Europe* had the Means of preventing it constantly in View, during the same Time: But it was otherwise.

THE *French* Monarch, by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, had renounced, and the Infanta, with his Consent, had renounced, all Right to the Succession of *Spain*, in the strongest Terms that the Precautions of the Councils of *Madrid* could contrive: But *Lewis* consented to these Renunciations, only to have the better Opportunity of breaking them. On the Death of *Philip*, he pretended that *Flanders* and *Franche-Compte*, which were Provinces of *Spain*, ought to revert to his Wife; notwithstanding her Renunciation. *Lewis* directed his Pretensions to be examined by his Council, and by the Doctors in Theology,

logy ; by whom they were declared incontestible : But they were pronounced quite the contrary by the Council of *Spain*. *Voltaire* says, One of the Prettexts alledged by the *French* Council was, that the five hundred thousand Crowns granted as a Dowry with his Wife, had never been paid : But they forgot, that the Dowry of her Mother remained still unpaid as well as this. By this Conduct the *French* Monarch pulled off the Mask entirely : His Queen was the Daughter of *Philip* by his first Marriage ; and the young King of *Spain* was by a second Venter : He, therefore, asserted her Claim, even to the Exclusion of her Brother ; because, by the Customs of some Part of *Brabant*, called the Right of Devolution, the Female of a first Marriage, was preferred to the Male of a second. However, this regarded only private Inheritances : Upon which Lord *Bolingbroke* believes, it was sufficiently bold in the *French*, to argue from Customs, that regulated the Course of private Successions in certain Provinces, to a Right of succeeding to the Sovereignty of those Provinces ; and to assert the Divisibility of the *Spanish* Monarchy, with the same Breath with which they asserted the Indivisibility of their own ; although the Proofs in one Case were just as good as the Proofs in the other ; and the fundamental Law of Indivisibility was at least as good a Law in *Spain*, as either this or the Salique Law was in *France*. *Spain* accepted the Renunciations as a real Security : *France* gave them as such to *Spain* ; and in Effect to the rest of *Europe*. If they had not been thus given, and thus taken, the *Spaniards* would not have married their Infanta to *Lewis*, whatever Distress they might have endured by the Prolongation of the War. These Renunciations were made of all Rights whatsoever to the whole *Spanish* Monarchy, and to every Part of it. The Provinces claimed by *France* at this Time were Parts of it. To claim them, was therefore to claim the whole. For if the Renunciations were no Bar to the Right accruing to *Maria Theresa* on the Death of her Father ; they could be none to the Rights that would accrue to her and her Children on the Death of her Brother.

Hence,

A. D. Hence, it is plain, how strong the fatal Contingency
 1668. of uniting the two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*
 stared Mankind in the Face; and yet nothing remarkable was done to prevent it, except the Triple Alliance, which was of little Effect.

THE Altercations between *France* and *Spain*, were commenced in Writings, wherein the Calculations of a Banker, and the Arguments of a Lawyer, were amply displayed: But Reasons of State were only regarded. *Lewis* assembled an Army of forty-six thousand Men, and made a sudden Invasion upon the *Netherlands*, before the Treaty of *Breda* was concluded. The great *Turenne* was the General who acted under the King; and, while *Colbert* took Care to defray the Expences of the Troops, *Louvois* first introduced the advantageous Method of subsisting Armies by Means of Magazines. From this Time, the military Employment began to be considered in *France*, as an Honour much superior to that of Birth; which has, ever since, been the greatest Support of their National Glory.

THE *French* Monarch, with a numerous Army, composed of the best Troops in *Europe*, attacked a Province weakly defended, and dependent on a Kingdom ruined and depopulated. He had only his Mother-in-law to oppose; and she was a weak Woman, entirely governed by Father *Nitard*, a Jesuit, who had none of the Qualities of a Minister, or a Priest, except Pride and Ambition. The *Spanish* Monarchy was quite defenceless under such an Administration; being without Men or Money, Ships or Fortifications. The Art of attacking Towns was not then brought to Perfection: Yet *Lewis* reduced *Charleroy*, *Ath*, *Tournay*, *Furnes*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Douay*, and *Lille*, as soon as he appeared before them: So that the Campaign appeared like a Summer Diversion for the Court. *Lewis* put strong Garrisons in the conquered Towns; and *Vauban* constructed his new Fortifications for their Defence, which afterwards became a Rule to all good Engineers; as they were made almost level with the open Country, instead of high and menacing Walls and Towers that were

were only so much the more exposed to Destruction ^{A. D. 1668.} from the Artillery. The *Spaniards* could bring only 8000 Men into the Field ; and the Conquest of all *Flanders* might have been the Work of a single Campaign, if the *French* could have spared a sufficient Number of Soldiers to garrison the Towns that were ready to surrender.

MARSHAL *Turenne* having conquered *Flanders* in the Summer of 1667, the Prince of *Conde* formed the Design of conquering *Franche Comte* in the Winter ; and was equally successful. This Province bordered on *Burgundy*, and was not only called *Franche*, or Free, but really was so ; being rather protected as a little Republic, than governed by the *Spanish* Monarchy. The whole Province was reduced in less than three Weeks : But this good Fortune, and great Ambition, roused *Europe* from its Lethergy ; for such a violent Attack upon the *Spanish* Provinces, shewed other Powers what they had to expect themselves, if the general Enemy was not seasonably opposed.

THE Emperor began to raise Troops ; and the Empire itself to appear in Motion. The *Switzers*, whose Liberty is their only Blessing, began to tremble for it, as they were the Neighbours of *Franche Comte*. The rest of *Flanders* was liable to be invaded the ensuing Spring ; and the *Dutch*, to whom it had always appeared of Consequence to have the *French* for their Friends, dreaded having them for their Neighbours. *Spain* now had Recourse to these very *Hollanders* ; and was, in fact, protected by this little Republic, which before it had only despised, and considered as a Country of Rebels.

JOHN DE WIT, who had been elected grand Pensionary of *Holland* at the Age of Twenty-five, regarded the Liberties of his Country, as much as his own Reputation. Hitherto he had been attached to *France* in the closest Manner, had led his Republic to serve all the Purposes of the *French*, and had renewed, with the Marshal *D'Estrades*, a Project of dividing the *Spanish Netherlands* between *France* and *Holland*, that had been taken up formerly, when *Richlieu* made Use of it to flatter their

A. D. 1668. their Ambition, to engage them to prolong the War against *Spain*. A Project, says a certain Minister, not unlike to that which was held out to them by the famous Preliminaries, and the extravagant Barrier-Treaty in 1709; which engaged them to continue a War on the Principle of Ambition, whereon they had entered with more reasonable and more moderate Views.

THE *French* Monarch had given little Assistance to the *Dutch*, and accelerated the Treaty of *Breda*, in hopes of obliging his *Britannic* Majesty: But *Charles* was so far from immediately resenting the Disgrace at *Chatbam*, that he was desirous of stopping the popular Discontent, by entering into a Confederacy with the States against *France*; into which Union *Sweden* was to be invited, so as to form a Triple Alliance, capable of intimidating *Lewis* in the midst of his Conquests.

WHILE the *French* were invading *Franche Comte*, Sir *William Temple* was privately sent from *Brussels* to the *Hague*, as Ambassador from *Charles*, to treat with the States about the Preservation of the *Netherlands*. Sir *William Temple* was a Philosopher, and a Gentleman; a Scholar, and a Politician; who united Business with Literature; was a Lover of Liberty; had a Mind superior to the common Artifices of Ministers, and was a Man of the strictest Integrity. A Friendship was immediately contracted between the Pensionary of *Holland*, and the Ambassador of *England*; so that a Cordiality between them, which is uncommon among Ministers of State, occasioned the Interest of Kingdoms to be transacted with as much Fidelity as if it had been the private Concern of two intimate Friends.

TEMPLE pressed an offensive League: But *De Wit* said, the *English* Councils had been in such a Fluctuation since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that it was not possible, for two Years together, to take any certain Measures with that Kingdom. The *French* King had offered to relinquish all the Rights of his Queen; on Condition either of keeping his Conquests in *Flanders*, or of obtaining *Franche Comte*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omers*. The triple League was founded upon this Proposal and concluded

concluded at the *Hague*, so early as the 23d of *January*, A. D. between *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*. The Rapidity of 1668. the Events which happened about this Period, is what chiefly distinguished it. *Flanders* had been taken in three Months; *Franche Comte* in three Weeks; and the triple Alliance, to preserve the Ballance of *Europe*, and check the Ambition of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, was proposed and concluded in five Days.

ENGLAND now appeared in her proper Station; the *Dutch* acted more consistently than we with their natural Interest; and the *Swedes* raised that Character which they had acquired in the North. The contracting Parties were to be Mediators between *France* and *Spain*; both of which Powers were disgusted at the Terms of the Triple Alliance: But *Lewis* was to be obliged to accept of his own Proposal; and the Council of *Madrid* were to be compelled to acquiesce to what was prescribed. The Plenipotentiaries met at *Aix-la-chabelle*; where *Temple* appeared as Minister for *England*: *Van Beuninghen* for *Holland*; and *Dhona* for *Sweden*. The Pope was invited by *Lewis* to act as Mediator; but the Confederates would not allow him that Honour; and a Peace was concluded on the 2d of *May*; whereby *Franche Comte* was restored to *Spain*, and all the Towns conquered in *Flanders* were yielded to *France*. The remaining Provinces were guarantied to *Spain*: But the *French* Monarch was filled with Indignation, to behold the *Dutch* setting Bounds to his Conquest; and, though he seemed to disregard the authoritative Manner in which this Peace was imposed upon him, he from that Time meditated Revenge on the Republic. He gained more by keeping the Towns in *Flanders*, than he lost by relinquishing *Franche Comte*: For he opened the Ports of *Holland*, whose Destruction he was forming, at the very Time he seemed to comply with all its Demands: And, in 1678, he not only extended his Conquests in *Flanders*, but also had *Franche Comte* given up to him by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*.

THE *English* Parliament met on the 10th of *February*; and the King promised himself every Thing from the Attachment

A. D.
1669. Attachment of the Commons, as also from the Good-will of the People; especially as the Triple League was an Act of the greatest Popularity. But the Commons were so much disgusted, with a Proposal made by the Ministry, in favour of the Presbyterians and other Non-conformists, that they neglected to thank the King for the Triple League, and voted an Address for a Proclamation against Conventicles. They also voted an Enquiry into the Miscarriages of the late War; and retarded the granting of the desired Supply by a Quarrel with the Lords, concerning the Affair of *Skinner* with the *East India* Company, which their Lordships had proceeded upon originally. At last, they granted a Supply of 310,000*l.* by an Imposition on Wines, and other Liquors: After which, the King adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of *August*, continued that Adjournment to the 1st of *March*, and then prorogued it to the 19th of *October*, 1669.

A. D.
1669. FROM this Time, *England* had the best Opportunity of holding the Ballance of Power, which ought to have been the Object of her constant Attention: For if she had steadily maintained this System, it might have saved the Expenditure of those Millions of Treasure, and shedding those Streams of Blood, which have since happened. But *Charles* only entered into the Triple Alliance to amuse his People; and, at the same Time, was conniving at the Views of *France*, which afforded him more Pleasure and Profit than any other Connexions.

ENGLAND had never seen a more disorderly Court; and the Example of the Courtiers had unhappily too much Influence on the Morals of the People. The Face of every Thing was intirely changed on the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon*: For the King gave himself up to his Pleasures, without any Reserve or Discretion. His principal Favourites were *Buckingham* and *Rochester*, who were both remarkable for their Wit, but more for their Debaucheries. The King spent almost all his whole Time with them and his Mistresses: So that his Ministers could seldom find an Opportunity of speaking to him

him about National Affairs, although he was always A. D. in want of Money, and his Revenues perpetually anticipated. ^{1669.}

SIR *John Trevor* was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State, on the Resignation of Sir *William Morrice*: But the Court swarmed with Papists, when the ninth Session of Parliament began, on the 19th of October, according to the Prorogation. A Comprehension for the Presbyterians, and a Toleration for the other Sectaries, had been proposed, and rejected; as it was apprehended the Papists would be included. The Commons voted a Supply of 400,000*l.* and on the 11th of December, the Parliament was prorogued 'till the 14th of February following; before which Time the King's Mother died in *France*, in the 60th Year of her Age; and the famous Duke of *Albemarle* also died, who was succeeded in his Estate and Honour by *Christopher*, his only Son.

THOSE Councils which had hitherto been negligent, A. D. light, and inconstant; were now becoming reproachful, ^{1670.} mean, and pernicious. They began to breed incurable Jealousies in the People; and were followed by such Consequences as threatened the Ruin of the Kingdom.

THE tenth Session of Parliament was opened on the 14th of February, when his Majesty was attended to the House with the additional Pomp of his *new Guards*. He desired a Supply; and recommended the Union of the two Kingdoms: After which, the Lord Keeper informed them, that all their former Supplies had been carefully applied to the Charge of the War: That the Revenue in the Customs, Exchequer, and Hearth-Money, had been diminished 600,000*l.* by the War, the Plague, and the Fire: And, that the King had been obliged to contract a considerable Debt, for which he hoped they would make a Provision.

DURING this short Session, four Things were chiefly in Debate and Agitation: The Differences between the two Houses about the Affair of *Skinner*, the Prosecution of the Dissenters, the Union of the two Kingdoms, and the Supplies for the King. The first being revived to such

1670. A. D. such a Degree as might hazard the last, the King interposed, and proposed an Expedient, to end the Differences, by razing all Records and Entries about that Proceeding; to which both Houses consented.

THE Commons voted a Supply capable of exonerating the King from his Debts: For they granted him an Imposition of Eight Pounds upon every Ton of *French* Wine, or Vinegar, that should be imported, for eight Years; and Twelve Pounds upon every Ton of *Spanish* Wine. This was too flagrant an Instance of the Partiality to the Commerce of *France*; which was not sufficiently removed till the Reign of *Queen Anne*, and even then, the Continuance of it was shamefully attempted. The Lords also obliged the King, by enabling him to part with his Fee-Farms and Quit-Rents, which were the last Remnants of those Demesnes whereby the Kings of *England* had been formerly supported. The Imposition on Wines might produce about 560,000 *l.* and the Fee-Farms are said to have raised more than double that Sum. Thus the King received for this glorious War with *Holland*, 7,760,000 *l.* Sterling; which amounted to 82,560,000 *Dutch* Florins; and yet the Courtiers boasted that this War cost the States only 40,000,000 of Florins.

ANOTHER Bill was prepared for the Suppression of seditious Conventicles; which, *Parker* says, made thundering Work. It was more severe than any other, and occasioned such Discontent among the Presbyterians, that, *Burnet* asserts, many monied Men talked of removing with their Stocks over to *Holland*. Commissioners were appointed to meet about effectuating an Union between *England* and *Scotland*, but this Project met with too many Difficulties at present, and was not completed 'till thirty-seven Years afterwards. The Bills received the Royal Assent on the 11th of *April*; and his Majesty only adjourned the Parliament to the 24th of *October*.

THE Parliament wanted the King to support the Established Religion, both against the Comprehension of Presbyterians, and the Toleration of Papists; but his Majesty

Majesty had very different Intentions. He wanted to A. D. be independent of his Parliament, and to reign as abso-^{1670.} lutely as his Cousin *Lewis* the Fourteenth. Father *Orleans* taxes this Parliament with a Republican Spirit; but his Censure is unjust: For the Commons only wanted to stop the Generosity of the Lords, who sent them down a Proviso for the King, that, according to honest *Marvell*, would have restored him to all civil and ecclesiastical Prerogatives, which his Ancestors had enjoyed at any Time since the Conquest.

A *French* Writer calls the Triple-Alliance an audacious Encroachment upon the Prerogative: But all honest *Englishmen* thought it well calculated for the Honour and Interest of their Country. The King, indeed, began to be of another Opinion; and, instead of ruling like the Monarch of *England*, was ready to prostitute himself as the Servant of *France*. He wanted to free himself of the Trouble of Parliaments by the Assistance of his Cousin *Lewis*; and *Lewis* wanted to master *Holland*, by the Assistance of *Charles*; which now introduced the blackest Portion of the *British* Story.

It was not to be expected, that the People of *England* would immediately give up those Liberties and Privileges to *Charles* the Second, for the Maintenance of which, they had so strongly opposed his Father: But it was imagined they might be insensibly led on to their Ruin, if the State-Saddles were filled by such Riders as would venture the breaking of their own Necks for the sake of obliging the King. The ordinary Council consisted of twenty-one Persons, who were too many to be intrusted with the grand Secret; and therefore the King established a *Cabinet-Council of five Persons only*, who were to have the Direction of public Affairs.

THIS new *Cabinet-Council* was composed of *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Aspley*, and *Lauderdale*; the initial Letters of whose Names, ranged in an acrostical Form, happened to compose the Word *CABAL*; and that was an Appellation given to the Junto. These Men justified the Saying of *Aurelius Cæsar*, "That four or five got together about the Emperor, who was shut up
from

A. D. 1670. from other Council, and never knew the true State of Things ; but was to understand only so much as they were pleased to tell him." They undertook to introduce *arbitrary Power*, and the *Papish Religion* ; for which dangerous Purposes they seemed no improper Implementments ; and *England* was never more oppressed than under their pernicious Councils. But she happily recovered from the Wound, before a Mortification ensued ; and the *Cabal* was broke by the Parliament, after they had been three Years attempting to put their Scheme in Execution.

GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of *Buckingham*, was endowed with uncommon Wit, and great Abilities ; But he had neither Prudence, Principle, or Oeconomy. *John Maitland*, Earl and afterwards Duke of *Lauderdale*, was learned, but proud ; and *Buckingham* called him a Man of a blundering Understanding. Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, now Lord *Ashley*, and afterwards Earl of *Shaftesbury*, was a Man of singular Talents, and extraordinary Capacity ; which made him capable of beginning the greatest Undertakings ; but his factious and ambitious Spirit prevented him from bringing them to a happy Conclusion. *Henry Bennet*, Earl of *Arlington*, neither wanted Integrity, or Capacity ; and, if he had less Genius, he had more Experience than the rest of the Coadjutors. And Sir *Thomas Clifford* had distinguished himself by his Elocution in Parliament ; being superior to the rest both for Virtue and sound Reason ; nor was he wanting in a bold and resolute Spirit. The Members of this *Quinquupartite Cabal* were as different in their Religion as in their Manners. *Buckingham* was reckoned an Atheist ; and *Shaftesbury* a Deist : *Arlington* and *Clifford* were known Papists : and *Lauderdale* had been as well known for a furious Presbyterian. Their dark Councils were only revealed by open Events ; and, after disgracing their Country, they fell into great Disgrace themselves.

THE King, and his Brother the Duke of *York*, had been at some Variance ; because the former was suspected of having an Intention of procuring a Divorce from his

his Queen, on Account of her Imbecility; though she A. D. 1670.
 had twice miscarried. This made the Duke imagine, that his Brother would either marry again, in Hopes of having legitimate Children; or that he would attempt a Legitimation of his natural Son the Duke of *Monmouth*; which would deprive the Duke of *York* and his Children of the Succession. However, these Suspicions were removed, and the King and his Brother became reconciled by the Interposition of the *Cabal*; by whom it was agreed to renounce the Triple Alliance, and enter into a Confederacy with *France* for undertaking a new War against the *Dutch*: Which, it was presumed, would pave the Way for arbitrary Power, a military Establishment, and the Popish Religion, in *England*.

COLBERT DE CROISSY had resided at *London* a considerable Time as Ambassador from *France*, and found the new Ministry so favourably inclined to his Master, that he distributed 100,000 Pistoles among them, to accelerate the Alliance against *Holland*. *Charles* had not yet come to a Determination with *France*; though he had refused the Accession of the Emperor to the Triple Alliance. *Lewis* considered that Treaty as a Barrier to his Ambition; and found it was necessary to detach *Charles* from that Confederacy: For which Purpose, he engaged the Dutchess of *Orleans* to make a Visit to her Brother the King of *England*, and warp him entirely to the Interest of *France*.

A PRINCESS, of twenty-six Years of Age, was the Plenipotentiary for the Conclusion of an Alliance between her Brother and Brother-in-Law: And the Pretence for her going into *England* was a Tour, which *Lewis* determined to make, in his new Conquests, towards *Lisle* and *Dunkirk*. The King, the Queen, and the whole Court of *France*, proceeded upon this Journey, attended with 30,000 Soldiers, destined to level the Roads, work upon the Fortifications, and reinforce the Garrisons: So that the Pomp and Grandeur of the ancient *Asiatic* Monarchs were equalled by the Splendor of this Tour. As the Glory of all this Preparation was

A. D. made only upon the Account of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, her Heart was elated with the Pleaſure, and ſhe embarked at *Calais* to ſee her Brother, who received her at *Dover*, on the 15th of *May*, and conducted her to *Canterbury*, where they ſpent a Fortnight in great Feſtivity.

THE King was as fond of his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta*, as he had been of her Brother Prince *Henry*. She was a Lady of excellent Senſe, and incomparable Beauty: So that *Charles*, being ſeduced by his Affection for his Siſter, and the Money of *France*, ſigned every Thing that *Lewis* deſired; and prepared the Deſtruction of *Holland* in the Miſt of Pleaſures and Diversions. No particular Articles ſeem to have been ſigned, or even agreed upon, to ratify this Confederacy: For neither Party had any Thing to claim from the *Dutch*, and could only regulate their Pretenſions by the future Succeſs of their Arms. But there is Reaſon to believe, that *Lewis* was to ſupply *Charles* with Money for the Reduction of *Holland*; and then to aſſiſt him with Men for enſlaving *England*. Beſides, the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* brought over, and left, a *French* Favourite in the Arms of her Brother, who was ſo much captivated with *Madam Louiſe de Querouville*, that he ſoon created her Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and was extremely attached to her during the whole Courſe of his Life; which proved a great Means of ſupporting his Connexions with *France*.

THIS new Alliance had like to have been as ſuddenly broke, as it had been concluded, by the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*; who died ſuddenly, ſoon after her Return to *France*. Her Death was occaſioned by drinking a Glaſs of Succory-Water, at *St. Clou*, in which was a great Doſe of Sublimate; and it was generally imagined that ſhe was poiſoned by the Direction of her Huſband, in a Fit of Jealouſy: Becauſe he had heard ſhe was fond of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Princeſs, in her great Agony, cried out ſhe was poiſoned: Though, when Mr. *Montague*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, aſked her that Queſtion, her Confeſſor told her, “Madam, you muſt accuſe Nobody; but offer up your Death to God as a Sacrifice.”

rice." By her Husband, *Philip Duke of Orleans*, she ^{A D.} had one Daughter, named *Anna Maria*, who married ^{1670.} *Victor Amadeus Duke of Savoy*, by whom she had Issue *Charles Emanuel Victor King of Sardinia*; and two Daughters, from whom are descended the present Kings of *France* and *Spain*.

His *Britannic Majesty* at first greatly lamented the Death of his Sister, and expressed him'self very passionately against the *Duke of Orleans*: But he soon lost his Resentment; and sent *Buckingham* into *France*, under Pretence of condoling with a Husband for a Wife he was reported to have poisoned. The *Marquis of Bellefonds* was also sent to *England*, with Compliments of Condolance from *Lewis*; and *Charles* was prevailed to adhere to his new Engagement. The Spoils of the *Dutch Republic* were already divided between the two Kings, in the same Manner as *Flanders* had been divided with the *Dutch* in 1635. Thus Projects, Allies, and Enemies, are perpetually changing; and great Designs are frequently rendered vain and delusive.

As soon as *Lewis* had formed the Destruction of *Holland*, he made a sudden Invasion into *Lorraine*, and made himself Master of the whole Country; without any Pretext of Equity to cover his Ambition. The Duke left his Dominions a Prey to the *Marshall De Crequi*; and vainly applied for the Intercession of *Charles* with *Lewis*: Which was a great Act of Ingratitude, as *Charles* had received considerable Assistance from the Duke in his Exile. The *Dutch* were alarmed at this Acquisition of *Lorraine* to *France*; which they considered as equal to an Invasion of *Flanders*. But their Fears were increased, when *Sir William Temple* was recalled from his Embassy to the States: For that excellent Man was no proper Instrument to be employed in the Designs of the *Cabal*, which were destined for the speedy Destruction of *Holland*.

THE Parliament met, according to Adjournment, on the 24th of *October*; when the King concealed his secret Negotiations with *France*; while he artfully set the Lord-Keeper upon demanding a Supply, for equipping

A. D. the Navy, and making good the Treaties with foreign
 1670. Powers. The Commons fell into the Snare, and voted
 2,500,000 *l.* But, before this large Supply was settled,
 they adjourned for the *Christmas* Holidays; and the
Brook-House Report, for examining into the Expences
 of the late War, was dropt in Complaisance to the
 King.

SCOTLAND was governed with more Moderation;
 though, by the Influence of *Lauderdale*, it had received
 a new Establishment of a Standing Militia. Almost all
 the valuable Parts of *Ireland* were now become *Engliſh*
 Property; and the Duke of *Ormond* had greatly contri-
 buted towards settling that Kingdom in a State of
 Tranquility: While he received much Disturbance
 himself from the Intrigues of *Buckingham* and *Aſtley*, who
 prevailed upon the King to remove the Duke from the
 Government of *Ireland*, and appoint the Lord *Roberts*,
 afterwards Earl of *Radnor*, in his Room. *Ormond* was
 still continued Lord Steward: But *Radnor* was too cy-
 nical in his Humour to continue long in the Administra-
 tion, and was soon ſucceeded by Lord *Berkley*.

A. D. DURING the ſhort Reſeſs of Parliament, a very ſin-
 1671. gular Affair happened to Sir *John Coventry*, one of the
 leading Members in the Houſe of Commons, who had
 been ſatirically pleaſant upon the King in one of the
 Debates for laying an Impoſition on Play Houſes. This
 Motion was oppoſed by the Courtiers, who ſaid, "The
 Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his
 Pleaſure." Sir *John*, by Way of Reply, asked, "If
 the King's Pleaſure lay among the Men, or Women
 Players?" This Freedom of Speech offended the
 Court, and *Coventry* was privately attacked by four
 Officers at the Head of ſome Soldiers, as he was re-
 turning to his Lodgings from a Tavern in *Suffolk-Street*,
 who diarmed him, after a brave Defence, and ſlit his
 Noſe open to the Bone, as a Chaiſement for the Li-
 berty he had taken with his Maſteſty: But the Com-
 mons reſented this Act of Barbarity; eſpecially as it
 was committed upon one of their Members, and for
 Words ſpoke in the Houſe.

THE

THE Parliament met towards the End of *January*, A. D. and immediately passed a Law for making it Capital to ^{1671.} maim any Person ; which was called the *Coventry-Act* ; and those Persons, who assaulted that Gentleman, were rendered incapable of receiving any Pardon by a general Act of Grace : Besides, a Penalty was laid upon every Person who should strike or wound any Member during his Attendance upon Parliament. This was a Matter of Triumph to the Commons ; who considered the King as the Director of that Assault, which he had recommended to the Duke of *Monmouth* : But Sir *Thomas Sandys*, *Bryan*, *Parry*, and *Reeves*, who committed this Fact, fled from Justice.

THE King, on the 14th of *February*, sent a Message to the Commons to hasten the Money-Bills : But, instead of indulging him, they concurred with the Lords in presenting an Address concerning Popery ; wherein they represented the Causes of its Growth, and offered Remedies against those growing Mischiefs. *Charles* the First positively denied he had any Papists in his Service ; which was contradicted by *Charles* the Second : But neither of them went any farther than publishing Proclamations against Papists ; and would never suffer them to be put in Execution.

HIS Majesty had been persuaded by *Lauderdale* to be present at the Debates in the House of Lords ; and he frequently attended there without any Formality, under a Pretence that it afforded him some Amusement. But this was esteemed a great Restraint upon the Freedom of Parliament : Besides, it was said, the King became a common Solicitor, both in public Affairs, and in private Matters of Justice. Lord *Lucas* had the virtuous Boldness to make a warm Speech, in the Presence of the King, against the Burthen of Subsidies, and the Misapplication of the Public-Money : He said, it was the direct and ready Way to be conquered by a Foreigner : It was *Ne moriari mori*, to die for fear of dying : And he desired the Lords to set some Bounds to the over-liberal Humour of the Commons. The Speech of this Patriot Peer was printed and published ; which

A. D. 1671. gave such Offence to the King and his Ministers, that it was ordered to be burnt by the common Hangman; though some Parts of it ought to have been engraved in Letters of Gold, as it certainly would have been in such a State as *Athens* or *Rome*, before *Philip* had corrupted the one, or *Cæsar* had enslaved the other. But, says the ingenuous and ingenious *Andrew Marvel*, the Sport was, the Hangman burnt the Lords Order with the Speech.

HOWEVER, the Lords vied with the Commons in Liberality; and the Money-Bills were passed. But some Altercations happened between both Houses on laying an Imposition upon Tobacco and other Commodities; which was opposed by the Lords; and the Commons said, this was an Encroachment on their Right, as they had the sole Power of granting Money to the Crown. The Disputes ran so high, that the King was obliged to prorogue the Parliament, on the 22d of *April*, to the 16th of *April* 1672; and afterwards, by several Prorogations, to the 4th of *February* 1673; so that this Prorogation continued a Year and nine Months: During which Time, the King threw the Nation into an unjustifiable War, and himself into a State of great Indigence.

As Sir *William Temple* was recalled from the *Hague*, Sir *George Downing* was sent in his Room to transact the dirty Work of the *Cabal*. This gave the Alarm to the *Dutch*, who esteemed *Downing* as an Incendiary, that had fomented the late War; and they were sorry to see a Tool of State take place of such a virtuous Minister as *Temple*, whom they considered as the Author of the Triple League, and a Friend to the Republic out of Principle to his own Country. *Downing* began to pave the Way for the intended Rupture, by complaining, as he had done before, against the *Dutch East-India Company*; and also of a trivial Affair concerning the Colony of *Surinam*. These were Matters too insufficient for the Pretence of a War, which was now undertaken by the King; as that, in 1664, had been by his Parliament; and the same Steps were pursued in commencing Hostilities.

By the Treaty of *Breda*, the *Dutch* agreed to pay Re- A. D.
 spects to the *British* Flag: And it was mutually provided, ^{1671.}
 for the Security of Trade, that six Months should be al-
 lowed for the Transportation of the Ships and Mer-
 chandize in the Dominions of the adverse Party, if the
 former Differences should be renewed. The *English*
 Ministers regarded neither of these Articles; and enter-
 tained no Scruple of making an Infraction upon them
 both. The War, in 1652, was commenced about the
 Honour of the Flag; which *Blake* insisted upon being
 paid to him by *Trump*; though the *Dutch* Admiral was
 at the Head of a superior Fleet: And the Hostilities, of
 1664, were begun by Sir *Robert Holmes*, by seizing the
Dutch Settlements without a Declaration of War. But
 the present Hostilities were to begin on less equitable Pre-
 tensions, and with more violent Proceedings; by an *Eng-
 lish* Yacht first insulting a *Dutch* Admiral; and then by
 an *English* Admiral attacking a *Dutch* Fleet. The one
 was attempted this Year, and the other the next: But
 with no Honour to *England*: For the *Dutch* Admiral
Van Ghent scorned to strike his Flag to an *English* Plea-
 sure-Boat: And *Holmes* met with an unexpected Opposi-
 tion from *Van Neefs*.

THE King had procured his extraordinary Supply, by
 granting Pensions to many of those Members who op-
 posed his Measures: But they were not all abandoned to
 that shameful Spirit of Venality, with which *Jugurtha*
 taxed the Senate of *Rome*; and some *Roman* Spirits were
 to be seen in *England* that would have adorned the
 Characters of *Cato* or *Brutus*. They were now to be
 alarmed with a Prodigy indeed: The immediate Heir to
 the Throne, threw off the Mask which his Brother artfully
 retained; destroyed every Cob-Web Stratagem that had
 been spun in the Dark; and openly acknowledged himself
 a PAPIST!

THE Dutchess of *York* died, on the 31st of *March*, in
 the 34th Year of her Age; having had four Sons, and
 four Daughters; but three of the Sons, and one Daugh-
 ter, died before their Mother; and the remaining Son,
 and one Daughter, soon after. So that the Princesses

A. D. 1671. *Mary* and *Anne* were the only Offspring that were left of this Marriage; and both of them had the Honour of wearing the Crown, as they were educated in Protestant Principles, which their Father formally abjured on the Death of their Mother. The Dutchess had not received those Marks of Affection which might have been expected from her Husband; and, to attract his Regard, she seemed to countenance Popery. The Duke, on her Death, made an open Profession of that Religion; which he knew would be regarded with Horror by the People, who had entertained the highest Terrors of Popery ever since the Accession of the House of *Stewart* to the Throne. But, now the Heir-Apparent had declared himself a Papist, it was proper for *Englishmen* to shew they were Protestants; which occasioned great Disturbances in the Nation; nor were the People appeased till the bigotted Prince abandoned his Throne, as imprudently as he had embraced his Religion.

THE Assault upon Sir *John Coventry*, was followed by another upon the Duke of *Ormond*; and, if the former was reported to have been done by the Direction of the King, the latter was suspected to have been done by the Encouragement of *Buckingham*. *Blood*, who had been attainted for a Plot to surprize the Castle of *Dublin* in 1663, had vowed Revenge against the Lord-Lieutenant, and waited an Opportunity to destroy him on his Return to *England*; which he had like to have effected in a most uncommon Manner. The Duke of *Ormond* was dragged out of his Coach, in *St. James's-Street*, by five desperate Russians on Horseback, who carried him off, and were resolved to hang him at *Tyburn*: But the Duke's Servants pursued the Assassins, and rescued their Master.

No Discovery was made of this atrocious Attempt, till *Blood* himself was taken in another daring Enterprize, to carry off the Crown of *England*, together with the Globe and Sceptre, out of the *Tower of London*. He had three Associates, and they were so very near succeeding in their Design, that they had got out of the *Tower* with their Treasure before they were overtaken and seized. *Blood* acknowledged he was concerned in the Attempt
upon

upon the Duke of *Ormond*: He also confessed he had A. D. 1671.
 been engaged in a Design to assassinate the King: And
 said, there were many of his Accomplices, who had
 sworn to revenge the Death of any of the Conspirators.
 The King was afraid of irritating such desperate Villains,
 and granted them a Pardon; which was accompanied
 with a Grant of 500*l.* a Year to *Blood*, who became a
 Sort of Favourite at Court, where he ought to have been
 detested as a Monster.

THUS the King had a Sister poisoned, and a Friend
 assassinated: But neglected to chastise the Perpetrators of
 such horrid Acts; while the gallant *Ormond*, told the
 sycophant *Arlington*, "That he valued his Life, no more
 than his Majesty regarded his Crown;" and, to shew
 his Contempt of Danger, complied with the King's
 Request, in consenting that *Blood* should obtain his
 Pardon.

THE League against *Holland* was kept with as A. D. 1672.
 much Secrecy as that of *Cambray* against *Venice*, in
 1509: But, like that, it was followed by a League
 against *France*; and *Lewis* the Fourteenth was more
 successful against the *Dutch*, than his Predecessor *Lewis*
 the Twelfth had been against the *Venetians*. The De-
 sign of the Allies was to begin with the Ruin of the
Dutch, by attacking them both by Land and Sea, with-
 out any Declaration of War. *Charles* agreed to attack by
 Sea, and *Lewis* to invade by Land: For which Purpose
 the former was to receive a Subsidy of 240,000*l.* a
 Year from the latter: *Charles* was to maintain 6000
 Land Forces; and *Lewis* was to join his Fleet with that
 of *England*. When the Republic was conquered, *Eng-*
land was to have *Zealand*; and *France* all the other Pro-
 vinces, except *Holland*, which was to be given to the
 Prince of *Orange*, if he would join the Confederacy:
 But he magnanimously refused the splendid Bait, and
 preserved his Country, when it was brought to the Verge
 of Destruction.

HIS *Britannic* Majesty had obtained a large Supply
 from his Parliament, under the Pretence of maintaining
 the Triple League; but he applied most of that Money,

A. D. 1672. with a considerable Sum he had received from *France*, in equipping a Fleet to act against the *Dutch*. More Money was wanted; and *Clifford* advised the King to shut up the Exchequer, which had been first hinted by *Ashley*. The Scheme was approved; and *Clifford* was made Lord-Treasurer for his Advice; which was a fatal Blow to private Property, and public Credit. The King had assigned over his Revenue to the Bankers, and had given his Royal Word to make those Assignments good, till the whole Debt should be paid, which amounted to about 1,500,000*l*. But this Violation of his Engagements occasioned a general Confusion among the trading Part of the People, who had Money in the Hands of the Bankers: For, as these stop'd Payment, the Merchants could answer no Bills, and a Stagnation was put to Commerce; which was not easily remedied, as the Exchequer continued shut about eighteen Months, and was a large Stride towards the Dissolve of Parliaments.

THE long Prorogation of the Parliament was now regretted by the Nation, who began to see, and to despise, the Councils of the *Cabal*: While the King conferred new Honours upon his desperate Ministers. *Lauderdale* was made a Duke; *Ashley* was created Earl of *Shaftsbury*; *Arlington* an Earl; and *Clifford* a Lord. After which, the King suspended the penal Laws against Nonconformists and Recusants; granting the Dissenters the public Exercise of their Religion, and to the Catholics the Toleration of it in private Houses.

WHILE the *French* Monarch was engaging new Allies, and making the necessary Preparations by Land; *Charles* had his Eye upon the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet, which he wanted to seize, and thereby retaliate the Injury he had received at *Chatham*. This was what he had done to the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet, in 1664: But the present Attempt was not attended with the same Success; though as unjustifiably commenced. The *Dutch* homeward-bound Fleet from the *Levant*, and other Parts of the *Mediterranean*, consisted of 72 Merchant-Ships, convoyed by 5 Men of War, under the Command of Admiral *Van Nes*; and the Cargoes were reckoned worth a Million

Million and Half Sterling. Sir *Robert Holmes*, and the A. D. Earl of *Offory*, were sent out, with 9 Frigates and 3 ^{1672.} Yatchts, to intercept this Fleet, which they met on the 13th of *March*, near the Isle of *Wight*. *Holmes* put on an amicable Appearance, and invited the *Dutch* Admiral on Board; who suspected his hostile Intentions, and was vigilantly upon his Guard. The *Dutch* valiantly defended themselves in three vigorous Attacks, in one of which their Rear-Admiral *De Haes* was killed: Nor were the *English* able to take any more than one Man of War, and four Merchant-Ships of inconsiderable Value: For the rest were favoured by a Mist, and escaped into their own Harbours. The *English* Ministry pretended this was only a Rencounter, occasioned by the Obstinacy of the *Dutch*, who refused to strike the Flag: the *Dutch* complained that it was a Breach of Faith, and that nothing more could have been expected from Pirates and Mahometans. This Action was followed by the Capture of four *Dutch* India-Men, and the Seizure of all the *Dutch* Ships in the *British* Ports; which was an express Contravention of the Thirty-second Article of the Treaty of *Breda*, whereby six Months were to be allowed for the Return of Ships and the Removal of Effects. The *Dutch* would not be seduced by so dishonourable an Example, and ordered all the *English* Ships in their Ports to be discharged: Which obliged *Charles* to imitate such an Act of Generosity.

THE *Dutch* were now convinced of the Insincerity of his *Britannic* Majesty, and that his Ambassador *Downing* was only the Instrument to renew the Quarrel; in which *France* was to be their Enemy, instead of their Friend, as in the last War. But *Downing* was as much afraid of being torn in Pieces by the Populace of *Holland*, as the *Dutch* Ambassadors were of being served in the same Manner by the *English* Mob in 1652, when *Trump* attacked *Blake*; and he returned without Leave to *England*, that he might not fall a Sacrifice, to furnish the *Cabal* with a new Pretence to begin the War. A Rumour of the approaching Enterprize began to be spread: But *Europe* listened to it in Silence. The Emperor

A. D. peror was engaged in the Seditions of *Hungary*; and
 1672. *Sweden* immersed in Negotiations: While *Spain* was
 weak, slow, and irresolute: By which Means, a free
 and unlimited Career was given to the Ambition of *Lewis*
 the Fourteenth. The States-General were in no Condi-
 tion of defending themselves against such powerful Ene-
 mies; and vainly solicited for the Accommodation of all
 Disputes in an amicable Manner. All Terms were re-
 jected; and they had nothing to rely on, but the Protec-
 tion of Providence: While, to add to their Misfortunes,
 the *French* Monarch had engaged the Elector of *Cologne*,
 and the Bishop of *Munster*, to join the Confederacy.

It is singular, and worthy of Observation, that,
 among all the Enemies which were going to fall upon this
 little State, there was not one who had any Pretence for
 committing Hostilities. Their *Britannic* and most *Chris-
 tian* Majesties both declared War against the *Dutch*, on
 the 17th of *March*; on Pretences equally false and fri-
 volous; which is generally the Case, when War is first
 resolved, and Reasons are afterwards sought. *Charles*
 again lumped his Complaints together: Said the *Dutch*
 refused to settle the Trade in the *East-Indies*; and that
 they denied the *English* in *Surinam* to remove their Ef-
 fects: He asserted, the *Dutch* represented his Right of
 the Flag as ridiculous; complained of abusive Pictures
 and Medals dispersed over *Holland*, which reflected on
 his Honour: and yet he professed an Adherence to the
 Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Lewis* had no better Rea-
 sons: He said, the *Dutch* treated crowned Heads with
 too much Insolence; and also complained of some of
 their Medals, wherein they had ascribed as much Glory
 to themselves as if they been Masters of the World.
 The Bishop of *Munster* pretended the *Dutch* had attempted
 to corrupt the Governors of his Frontier-Places. And
 the Elector of *Cologne* promised to observe an exact Neu-
 trality; though he had already introduced a Body of
French Troops into his Dominions. Thus these four
 Princes were united for the Destruction of the Republic
 of the *United-Provinces*, which was divided in itself be-
 tween two Factions of rigid and moderate Republicans;
 the

the one headed by the Pensionary *De Wit*, and the other *A. D.* supported by the Prince of *Orange*: So that their Coun- 1672.
try was called, with more Propriety, the *Disunited-Pro-*
vinces. *Sweden* was bought off from the Triple Alliance,
by a Subsidy-Treaty of 400,000 Crowns a Year; and
the *Dutch* were left to defend themselves at once against
the most potent Prince in *Europe* by Land, and the most
potent Prince in the World by Sea.

THE *Dutch* were inconsiderable as a Military Power:
But *De Wit* still preserved the Reputation of their Naval
Glory, and sent a formidable Fleet to Sea, under the ex-
perienced *De Ruyter*, either to prevent the Junction of
the confederate Fleets, or to attack them if they were
united: For the very Existence of the States, depended
upon the Success of their Admiral. It is surprizing with
what Industry and Expedition the *French* Monarch had
surrounded his long neglected Sea-Ports, by Works which
were both their Ornament and Defence; containing
already near sixty large Men of War, and many Mer-
chant-Ships, well filled with Mariners, who had been
lately instructed in the Art of navigating capital Ships,
by Officers sent on Purpose from *England*. And the
whole Navy of *England* was ready for Action, before it
was imagined that there were Seamen sufficient to man
half the Ships: But the Act of Navigation was sus-
pended, and a rigid Proclamation was published in Fa-
vour of Pressing; which were both Stretches of Prero-
gative, and not repined at, because of the Necessity of
employing the Seamen on Board the Royal Navy.

THE Fleets of *England* and *France* effected their Junc-
tion on the 6th of *May*; the former consisting of 100,
and the latter of 40 Ships; commanded by the Duke
of *York*, the Earl of *Sandwich*, and the Count *d'Etrees*;
having together on Board 6000 Guns, and 32000 Men.
The *Dutch* Fleet was commanded by *De Ruyter*, and
Cornelius De Wit in his usual Capacity as Deputy from
the States: It consisted of 158 Ships; but they carried
only 4000 Guns, and 25000 Men. The *Dutch* Admi-
ral was determined to engage the combined Fleet, which
lay at *Southwold*, or *Solbay*, in *Suffolk*, in a very negli-
gent

1672. **A. D.** gent Posture. The Duke of *York* thought less of engaging the Enemy, than of indulging his Mariners with an extravagant Preparation for the usual Disorders of the Anniversary of the Restoration: But the experienced Earl of *Sandwich* foresaw, and warned him of his Danger; which prudent Advice was treated with Contempt; as if it proceeded more from Fear than Discretion. The Event proved *Sandwich* a wise and brave Commander: For *De Ruyter*, on the 28th of *May*, had like to have surprized the combined Fleet at their Moorings; and he prevented all the intended Festivity, by one of the most bloody and obstinate Sea-Fights which had ever happened.

EARLY in the Morning, the *English* Scouts gave the Signal of the *Dutch* approaching, with the Wind in their Favour; which put the Confederates in such great Confusion, that many Ships were obliged to cut their Cables, for Fear the *Dutch* Fire-Ships would come down to destroy them in the Bay, where they lay crowded together. As the Earl of *Sandwich* foresaw, he now removed the Danger, by hastening out of the Bay with the Van; which gave the Duke of *York*, and *d'Estrees*, an Opportunity to disengage the Center, and the Rear. *Van Ghent* brought on the *Dutch* Van, and immediately engaged *Sandwich*: *De Ruyter* attacked the Duke of *York*: and *Bankert* was opposed to *d'Eirees*. The Heat of the Fight was between *Sandwich* and *Van Ghent*: Both of whom perished in the Fury of the Engagement. *De Ruyter* afforded warm Work to the Duke of *York*, and had greatly the Advantage over him, till his Highness received Assistance from Sir *Jos. Jordan*, who had succeeded *Sandwich* in the Command. The Battle was then more equally ballanced, and continued till Night, when the *Dutch* retired, without being followed by the Confederates: So that both Sides claimed the Victory, after sustaining no very unequal Loss; though *Parker*, who magnifies the Bravery of the Duke of *York*, falsely says, the *Dutch* were pursued to their own Coasts. The *English* had two Ships burnt, three sunk, and one taken: The *French* had one sunk, and another burnt: While the

the *Dutch* had three Ships burnt, one sunk, and three A. D. taken. Besides the gallant Earl of *Sandwich*, the Con-^{1672.} federates lost the *French* Rear-Admiral *de la Robiniere*, nine *English* Captains, two *French*, several Volunteers of Distinction, and 2500 private Men killed, with as many more wounded. The *Dutch* lost their brave Admiral *Van Ghent*, with as many Officers and Men killed and wounded as were among the Confederates.

THE Admirals *Holmes* and *Spragg* distinguished themselves in this Engagement, as also did Lord *Ossory*: But *d'Etrees* was backward in engaging; which made it suspected, he had Orders to save the *French* Ships, and suffer the *Dutch* and *English* to weaken themselves by their mutual Animosity. The Loss of the illustrious Earl of *Sandwich* was greatly regretted: He had preserved the whole confederate Fleet by his Prudence and Bravery; yet scorned to save his own Life, after the Duke of *York* had treated him with Indignity. His Ship, the *Royal James*, had 1000 Men on Board, and 600 were killed on the Deck, before she took fire; when the Earl retired to his Cabin, and was followed by his Captain Sir *Richard Haddock*, who told him of the Danger: But the noble Earl threw a Handkerchief before his Eyes, and said, "He saw how Things went, and was resolved to perish with the Ship." His Body was afterwards known, by the *George* he had on; and was interred with great funeral Pomp in *Westminster-Abbey*. Bishop *Parker* says, "He was adorned with all the Virtues of *Alcibiades*; but not tainted with any of his Vices: Of noble Blood; capable of any Business: A Man of great Judgment; and one of the greatest Officers both at Sea and Land: Eloquent, and learned; affable, liberal, and magnificent." Many gallant Lives were lost in this bloody Battle; which contributed little towards finishing the War, to the great Disappointment of the *Dutch*, whose Country was over-ran by *Lewis* like a Land-Flood, as *Burnet* makes Use of the Expression: But this Engagement put an End for the present Year to the naval Operations.

THE *Dutch* had been seduced by *England* to quit their

A. D. 1672. their ancient Alliance with *France*: But the Republic had no sooner embraced these Measures, than his *Britannic* Majesty concluded an Alliance for the Destruction of that State, which his Predecessor Queen *Elizabeth* had supported. This Alliance was made with that very Power, which *England* had treacherously engaged *Holland* to offend; and the unguarded Republic was to feel the Resentment of an irresistible Enemy. The Prince of *Orange* was now in the Twenty-second Year of his Age; and was made Captain-General and Admiral; whereby he was invested with the whole military Power of the States. He was Nephew to his *Britannic* Majesty, who wanted him to be appointed Stadtholder, and have the *perpetual Edict* abolished, by which the Prince had been excluded from the Stadtholdership, and from all Share in the civil Administration: But the Pensionary *De Wit* was afraid of destroying the *Louvestijn* Party, and the Aristocracy of the State, by restoring the House of *Orange* to its former Dignity. However, this great Republican gave the Prince an excellent Education, and instructed him in all the Principles of Government; which contributed to the Popularity of his Highness, and the Destruction of the Pensioner.

ALL that royal Ambition could collect, and all that human Prudence could contrive, for the Destruction of a Nation, were done by *Lewis* the Fourteenth. *Despreaux*, the celebrated Historian of *France*, confessed that he knew not what Reasons to alledge for the Justification of this War: And the more celebrated *Voltaire*, the Crown Historian of that Kingdom, says, there is no Example in all History, of such formidable Preparations for so inconsiderable an Enterprize: For, among all the Conquerors who have subjected any Part of the World, no one ever began his Conquests with so many regular Troops, nor so much Money, as were employed by *Lewis* the Fourteenth, to subject this little State of the *United-Provinces*. The standing Force of *France* was now augmented to 180,000 Men; and Fifty Millions of Livres, which make Ninety-seven Millions of the present *French* Money, or about 3,540,000 *l.* Sterling, were

were expended in the Preparations. The illustrious A. D. Conde, and the great *Turenne*; assisted by the Marshals ^{1672.} *Luxemburgh*, *Crequi*, and *Camilli*; with the most renowned Generals of the Age, conducted the *French Army*, employed in this Expedition, which consisted of 112,000 well-disciplined Men, assembled on the Side of *Maeftricht*, with a prodigious Train of Artillery under the Direction of *Vauban*: While the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, had 20,000 Men on the East-Side of the *Rhine*.

THE *Dutch* were rendered very unwarlike, by their continued and successful Application to Commerce. Their old Troops had been disbanded, and their most experienced Officers dismissed: None of the old *English* and *French* Regiments were retained in their Pay; and the few Soldiers that were left were no better than Mercenaries, commanded by raw Youths, the Sons or Kinsmen of Burgomasters, by whose Interest the *Louvestein* Party was supported. The States were terrified at the vast Preparations of their Enemies, and hastily augmented their Troops to 70,000 Men: But only 25,000 were able to take the Field, and those were far from being perfect in military Discipline; nor had they any experienced General to give them Instruction. The young Prince of *Orange* was, therefore, looked upon as the Saviour of the Republic; and yet he had never seen a Siege, nor a Battle. *Voltaire* says, this Prince, under the phlegmatic Disposition of a *Dutchman*, had a strong Ambition, and an ardent Thirst of Glory; which afterwards appeared upon all Occasions in his Conduct, but never in his Conversation. His Temper was cold and severe; though his Parts were quick, active, and penetrating. His Courage, which was undaunted, made his Body, which was weak and languishing, support Fatigues that were superior to his Strength. He was brave without Vanity; ambitious without Pride; born with an Obstinacy proper to combat Adversity; fond of Business and War; unacquainted with the Pleasures attendant upon Greatness, or even those annexed to Humanity; and, in short, almost in every Thing, the Reverse of
Lewis

A. D. *Lewis* the Fourteenth. He was at first unable to make
 1672. any Opposition to the Torrent which burst in upon his
 Country ; and his Power was even limited by the States,
 who were afterwards supported by his Virtues, which
 first made him the Stadtholder of the *United Provinces*,
 and then the King of *Great-Britain*.

THE *French* Monarch accompanied his Army into
Flanders the Beginning of *May* ; carrying with him *Pel-
 lison* the Historian, to write a Relation of his Victories.
 All those Towns, which bordered upon the *Rhine* and the
Iffel, surrendered as soon as they were summoned. Cop-
 per-Boats had been invented by *Martinet* ; and the *French*
 Infantry passed the *Rhine*, on the 2d of *June*, over a
 Bridge of those Pontons : While the Cavalry swam
 over, and gained the Shore without any considerable
 Opposition. This Passage of the *Rhine* was much more
 celebrated than it ought to have been by the Vanity of
 the *French* Courtiers, and the Flattery of their Poets : It
 was an Undertaking that may be compared with the
 Passage of the *Thames* by *Julius Cæsar* : * For as that
 River was fordable almost all over at *Walton* ; so was the
Rhine at this Time, at the *Tollhuys*, where *Lewis* passed,
 which was occasioned by the Dryness of the Season. But
Cæsar met with more Opposition from *Cassibelan*, than
Lewis met with from the *Dutch* ; after which, the *French*
 Monarch ravaged the Country of his Enemy like the
Roman General, who invaded the *Trinobantes* upon as
 frivolous a Pretence as *Lewis* invaded the *Dutch*.
Cæsar also passed the *Rhine*, upon a Bridge, to terrify the
Germans, to be revenged upon the *Sicambri* : But his
 Bridge was made of Wood, under the Direction of *Vi-
 truvius* the Father of Architecture ; and such a Passage
 made by the *Romans*, over so broad, deep, and rapid a
 River, was much more difficult and glorious than what
 was now done by the *French*. And the Passage of the
Rhine was also effected by Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, in
 1744, in the Face of a numerous *French* Army, who
 vainly endeavoured to prevent the Attempt ; which was
 more successfully executed than that of *Lewis* the Four-
 teenth,

* See Vol. I. p. 24.

teenth, who had only three Regiments to oppose his A. D. Landing. 1672.

As soon as the *French* Army entered the Territories of the States, the *Dutch* Troops retired into the Province of *Holland*; while Town after Town, and Garrison after Garrison, surrendered to the all-powerful Invaders wherever they came, till they arrived at *Utrecht*, which also opened its Gates to the Enemy. The *French* Monarch made a triumphal Entry into this City, on the 25th of *June*; when the Provinces of *Utrecht*, *Overyssel*, and *Guelderland*, were in his Possession, and the remaining Provinces endangered. *Amsterdam* expected the Moment of its Slavery, or Ruin, was at Hand; and a little Diligence would have put the *French* in Possession of this wealthy and populous City. If this Capital had been taken, not only the Republic would have perished, but the People would have no more existed as a Nation, and even the Land itself would soon have disappeared. The richest Families, and those who were most desirous of Liberty, prepared to embark for *Batavia*, and fly to the Extremities of the World. The Ships capable to make this Voyage were numbered; and it was found, that 50,000 Families might be embarked to take Refuge in their new Country; where, says *Temple*, they had in a Manner erected another subordinate Commonwealth, had 45 Men of War, and 30,000 Soldiers. The *Dutch* would then no longer have existed but in the most distant Parts of the *East-Indies*; and these *European* Provinces, which subsist only by their *Asiatic* Riches, their Commerce, and, if a *Frenchman* may declare so says *Voltaire*, by their Liberty, would suddenly have been ruined and depopulated.

THE States were now reduced to their original Distress, and Ambassadors were dispatched to implore the Compassion of the two confederate Monarchs; who insisted upon such cruel and arbitrary Terms, as approached near to Slavery, and appeared intolerable. The Severity of the Conqueror inspired the Vanquished with a desperate Courage; and the *Dutch* came to the Resolution of dying in Defence of their Liberty. The Magistrates of *Amsterdam*

1672. *A. D. Amsterdam* preserved the Credit of their Bank, by opening their Treasure, and paying off all such Notes as were presented for Payment. This distinguished good Faith, and such great Resources, were then so much the more admirable, as his *Britannic* Majesty had just become a Bankrupt to his Subjects, for defraying the Expences of his Pleasures, and his War against the *Dutch*. And Foreigners thought it as dishonourable to this Monarch thus to violate the public Faith, as it was glorious in the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* to preserve it, when a Failure might have appeared pardonable.

THE unhappy Pensioner *De Wit*, and his Brother, now began to feel the Rage of an exasperated Populace, who broke out into a general Insurrection, compelled their Magistrates to repeal the *perpetual Edict*, and to appoint the Prince of *Orange* Stadtholder. The Constitution of their Government had continued twenty Years in the Hands of their popular Magistrates, after the Exclusion, or Intermision, of the Authority of the House of *Orange*, upon the Death of the last, and Infancy of the present Prince, who was now at the Age assigned him by their Constitutions for entering upon the Administration. The *De Wits* were both assassinated, and both at first escaped; while their Friend, the brave *De Ruyter*, was exposed to Violence. Soon after, *Cornelius De Wit* was accused by one *Tichlaer*, an infamous Barber, of endeavouring to bribe him into a Design of poisoning the Prince of *Orange*. That great Man was put to the Rack; and, in his Torments, recited the first Lines of this Ode of *Horace*, *Iustum & tenacem*, &c. being applicable to his Innocence, his Courage, and Condition. He was then condemned to Banishment, to gratify the Multitude: But his Brother came to accompany him to the Place of his Exile; upon which, the Mob rose, on the 20th of *August*, burst open the Prison at the *Hague*, dragged out the two Brothers, and barbarously massacred them in the Street. Their brutal Revenge was exercised on the dead Bodies of those two virtuous and illustrious Citizens; one of whom had governed the State for nineteen Years with great Integrity;

and the other signally served it with his Sword. Sir A. D. *William Temple* says, "The Pensioner was a Minister of 1672. the greatest Authority and Sufficiency; the greatest Application and Industry, that ever was known in their State." The Deputy was as eminent in War as his Brother was in Council; and had signalized his Bravery in many naval Engagements. Yet they both fell a Sacrifice to the Rage of the Populace. Thus the Marshal *d'Ancre*, and the Admiral *Coligny*, perished in France: For such horrid Actions are common to all Nations: And, if *Coriolanus* escaped the popular Fury in Rome, the two *Gracchi's* were massacred like the two *De Wits*; after whose Deaths the *Louvestein* Party was suppressed, and the Prince of Orange became the Idol of the People.

THE *Dutch* now began to display that Spirit of Liberty against the *French*, which they had formerly shewn against the *Spaniards*. The Sea-Banks were cut, and the Water lett in to overwhelm those fertile Fields which had been won from it with infinite Art and Expence. Towns, Villages, and Farms, were destroyed. *Amsterdam* appeared like a vast Fortrefs in the Midst of the Sea, surrounded with Ships of War, which had Depth of Water sufficient to make them be stationed round the City: And all those Passages through which the *French* might penetrate into the rest of the Country, were covered with Inundations. The young *Dutch* Stadtholder acted like an old *Roman* Dictator: He offered the State the Revenue of his Posts, and his whole Fortune, for the Defence of Liberty: While he applied himself to the Regulation of his little Army, and the Direction of such public Negotiations as might be of Benefit to his Country. The People remembered the Virtues of his Great-Uncle Prince *Maurice*; who, even in more early Youth, had protected their Ancestors against the exorbitant Power of *Spain*; and they were pleased to see *William* exhort the States to reject with Scorn those dishonourable Conditions which had been demanded by their insolent Enemies. The *Dutch* no more thought of abandoning, but of defending, their Country: And the Prince so much despised the inviting Offers made him by the confederate

A. D. confederate Powers, that he told their Ambassadors, “ he
 1672. would die in the last Ditch, rather than see his Country
 in Slavery.”

THE *French* Monarch entered the *Dutch* Territories in *May*; and almost all *Europe* began to conspire against him in *July*, by the Quickness and Secrecy which the Prince of *Orange* had observed in his Negotiations. As the Country was under Water, no more Conquests were to be made, and *Lewis* returned to *Paris* in *August*, accompanied by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had brought over 6000 Men pursuant to the Engagement of his Father. The *French* Generals continued the Campaign; but not so successfully as it was began: Affairs wore a different Aspect: The *Dutch* found Allies, who considered the Subjection of *Holland* as the Forerunner of their own Slavery; and those Alliances restored the drooping Republic to its former Glory. It is well observed, that the History of the greatest Princes is frequently a Recapitulation of the universal Faults of Mankind: Which was partly verified in this Campaign; for if *Lewis* had pursued the Advice of his Generals, instead of listening to his Ministers, he would have pushed his Conquests with the utmost Rapidity; which would have completed the Reduction of the *Seven United Provinces*.

BRITANNIA bleeds no more with *Civil Rage*;
 And *Peace* comes smiling on a milder Age!
Faction is dumb; and *Royalty* restor'd:
Astræa holds the Balance, and the Sword.
 Her Mitre, meek *Religion* takes again:
 And *Freedom's* Voice is heard in ev'ry Plain.
 While festive *Joy*, thro' all the Land, is shown,
 As *CHARLES* returns to fill his native Throne.
Peers, Prelates, Commons, People, all, receive
 Those ancient *Rights* their sacred *CHARTER* gave.
Io triumphe! let the *Olive* spring;
 And *Cowley*, with the *Muse* of *Pindar*, sing.

THE Sons of *War* lay down their Arms in Peace;
 And busy *Commerce* finds her Wealth increase.

The

The Senate, awful, round the Monarch stand,
 And trust the whole *Militia* to his Hand.
Vane, and the *Regicides*, are doom'd to bleed :
 Nor could the *Plots* of *Fanatics* succeed.
 The *Royalists* exert their Pow'r again :
 And *Presbytery* finds no lenient Reign.
 The *Corporation Test* secures the State :
 The Church, by *Uniformity*, is great.
 The *papal Hopes* are curb'd ; and yet, the King,
 A *Papish Princess* to his Bed will bring.
 Imprudent Act ! for soon the Nation saw
 A *Papish Prince* aspire to give them Law !

BOLD *Cromwell*, *Dunkirk* bravely did obtain ;
 And snatch'd this Jewel from the Crown of *Spain* :
 But *Charles*, to *France*, the Town inglorious fold ;
 And barter'd *England's Fame*, for *Gallia's Gold*.

AGAIN *Britannia* frowns on *Belgia's Shore* :
 Again, the rival *Lions* loudly roar :
 In Conflicts terrible, the Squadrons meet ;
 As gallant *Sandwich* leads on *England's Fleet* ;
 And as the *Dutch* their dreadful Line display,
 Where *Opdam*, and *De Ruyter*, lead the Way.
Opdam, and *Lawson*, bleed : Heroes expire
 On Heroes, till stern *Mars* suspends his Ire.
France joins the *Dutch* ; and soon, her Olive wand,
 Fair *Peace* presents, and smiles on either Land.
 But, Oh ! Dishonour to the *Belgic Name* ;
 And, Oh ! a long Disgrace to *England's Fame* !
 For, see, *De Ruyter* sails up *Medway's Tide*,
 Resistless ; and destroys *Britannia's Pride* ;
 Her Royal Navy, ev'n at *Chatham*, burns ;
 Insults her Coast, and safely Home returns.
 Had glorious *Blake* been there, this had not been ;
 Nor *Breda's Peace*, oh, *Charles* ! thy Folly seen.

AMBITIOUS *France*, now dreadfully appears,
 And fills the Nations with unusual Fears.
England and *Holland*, their true Int'rest find ;
 And *Sweden*, in the *Triple League*, is join'd.
Lewis is check'd : *Charles* is licentious grown,
 And wicked *Ministers* surround his Throne :

While

While CLARENDON, *illustrious Exile!* goes
 In foreign Lands, to weep o'er *England's* Woes:
 Scorning those Measures the CABAL pursue,
 His latest Breath, like *Freedom's* Son, he drew.
 Great Oracle of Law; great Sage of Truth
Historic! thine it was, to train the Youth
 Of Royal *Charles*; to guard his sacred Head,
 While, from his Throne, an exil'd Life he led:
 Thy Councils won, and had preserv'd the State;
 But, ah! thy Virtue found thy Monarch's Hate!
 Yet, from thy Issue, two fair Stems arose;
 Of Royalty; *Mary* and *Anne*; to close
 The Wounds of *Liberty*, and heal *Religion's* Woes. }

BRITANNIA now the Scale of Empire held:
 In Arms and Arts, alike, she now excell'd:
 And Mistress of the World alone had reign'd,
 If *Charles* his Pow'r had gloriously maintain'd.
 But, led by desp'rate Councils, he forsakes
 The Dutch Alliance: *Papal Pride* awakes;
 And arbitrary Pow'r his Stride tyrannic takes: }
 While *Lewis* threatens *Holland* with Alarms;
 And *Charles*, with *France*, unites the *British* Arms.
 Unaided, *Belgia* bears the furious Blow;
 And *Ruyter* seeks the strong united Foe.
 Alas! great *Sandwich* in the Fight expir'd;
 Scornful of Life, when his First-Rate was fir'd.

THE *Belgic* Provinces are torn away
 By *Lewis*, rapid in his martial Sway.
 But *England's* Patriots soon retard the War;
 And youthful *Orange* shines out *Freedom's* Star.
 The *Gallic* Victor soon his Prey resigns;
 And *Europe*, in one common League, against him joins.

NOR War, alone, affrights *Britannia's* Shore:
 The Heav'ns themselves a Desolation pour.
 A wasteful *Pestilence* thins all the Land:
 Nor stops the Angel his destroying Hand,
 'Till thousands, heap'd on thousands, quit their Breath,
 In all the sad Magnificence of Death.

ANOTHER Havock on *Augusta* falls:
 Her Temples, Edifices, Streets, and Walls,

In one great Conflagration reach the Sky ;
 In one promiscuous Ruin, undistinguish'd, lie :
 Full sixty thousand Souls the *Plague* destroy'd :
 By *Fire* were thirteen thousand Houses void ;
 But, soon, the great Metropolis arose
 More fair, and healthful, from such fatal Blows.

In manly Prime, the Royal *Glo'ster* shone,
 An Ornament to grace his Brother's Throne :
 But he, like *Arthur* *, and like *Henry* †, dy'd ;
 With *Youth*, and *Wisdom*, weeping by his Side.
 His Sisters too, in Bloom of Life expir'd :
 Fair *Orange* this ; that *Orleans* much admir'd :
 But diff'rent far their Fates : For *Orlean's* Age
 Was shorten'd by a jealous Husband's Rage :
 From her a num'rous Race of Monarchs springs,
 That gave to *France*, to *Spain*, to *Savoy*, Kings.
 Thy Issue, *Orange*, was the brave *Nassau*,
 Who kept the Tyrants of Mankind in Awe :
 Restor'd thy Freedom, *Britain*, and preserv'd thy Law. }

* See Vol. II. p. 30.

† See Vol. II. p. 199.

II. *The SECOND PART of the Reign of King CHARLES the Second, from the Opposition against the Ministry in 1673, to the Death of his Majesty in 1685.*

THE precise Point at which the Scales of Power turn, like that of the Solstice in either Tropic, is imperceptible to common Observation: And, in one Case as in the other, some Progress must be made in the new Direction, before the Change is perceived. In the political Balance of Power, says Lord *Bolingbroke*, unlike to all others, the Scale that is empty sinks, and that which is full rises. They who are in the sinking Scale do not easily come off from the habitual Prejudices of superior Wealth, or Power, or Skill, or Courage; nor from the Confidences that these Prejudices inspire. Those, who are in the rising Scale, do not immediately feel their Strength, nor assume that Confidence in it which successful Experience gives them afterwards. They, who are the most concerned to watch the Variations of this Balance, misjudge often in the same Manner, and from the same Prejudices. They continue to dread a Power no longer able to hurt them; or they continue to have no Apprehensions of a Power that grows daily more formidable. *Spain* verified the first Observation, about the Year 1659; when, proud and poor, enterprizing and feeble, she still thought herself a Match for *France*. The *French* verified the second Observation, in 1668; And the Triple Alliance stopped the Progress of her not ably which Alliances, much more considerable, were Powers of effect afterwards. The other principal Observation *ope*, in their Turns, have verified the third both its Parts, from the Time that

Lewis

Lewis the Fourteenth thought of exalting the House of *Bourbon* on the Ruins of that of *Austria*, and of placing the Crown of *Spain* on the Head of one of the Princes of his own Family.

THURLOE says, that *Oliver Cromwell*, in 1658, was resolved to concert Measures with the *French* Court for the final Conquest and Partition of the *Spanish Low-Countries*. This would have been a large Stride towards that Scheme of Universal Monarchy, which *France* has been assiduously pursuing from the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1668, to the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748. But *Cromwell* had no Design of annihilating the *Dutch Republic*, and partitioning out the *Seven United Provinces* upon equal Terms with *France*. There is no Room to wonder that *Lewis* the Fourteenth, after concluding the Peace of 1668, meditated the War of 1672: The Preparations he made for it, by Negotiations in all Parts, by Alliances wherever he found Ingression, and by the Increase of his Forces, were equally Proofs of Ability, Industry, and Power. But it is surprizing, that *England* should be fatally engaged to act a Part in this Conspiracy, against the Peace and the Liberty of *Europe*; nay, against her own Peace and her own Liberty: For, says *Bolingbroke*; a Bubble's Part it was, equally wicked and impolitic.

THE Principles of the Triple Alliance, just, wise, and worthy of a King of *England*, were laid aside. Then the Progress of the *French* Arms was to be checked; the ten Provinces were to be saved; and, by saving them, the Barrier of *Holland* was to be preserved. Now, *England* joined her Counsels, and her Arms, to those of *France*, in a Project that could not be carried on at all, as it was easy to foresee, and as the Event shewed, unless it was carried on against *Spain*, the Emperor, and most of the Princes of *Germany*, as well as the *Dutch*; and which could not be carried on successfully, without leaving the Ten Provinces entirely at the Mercy of *France*; as also giving her Pretence and Opportunity of ravaging the Empire, and extending her Conquests on the *Rhine*.

LEWIS still resented the Peace which the *Dutch* had imposed on him at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; nor could *Charles* forget the Disgrace they had thrown on him at *Chatham*; and, though the Nation exclaimed against his Measures, he entered farther into the Designs of *France*, by corroborating his former Engagements with a new Treaty. This new Agreement was signed on the 16th of *July*, whereby another of the 12th of *February* was ratified; and it was agreed, that no Truce or Peace should be made with the *Dutch*, without the reciprocal Consent of both their Majesties, and till they were fully satisfied. In the Preamble of this Treaty, his Most Christian Majesty was suffered to be stiled, *King of France*; and the Precedency was yielded to him throughout the whole Piece; which *Oliver*, the Protector, disdained to do, when he insisted on the first Place in his Treaty with *France*, and carried it, though he was only at the Head of the *English* Commonwealth. This Condescension was mean in the *English* Plenipotentiaries, and dishonourable to their Master. Soon after, a League, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Emperor, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the States-General. *Spain* laboured for the Preservation of the *Dutch*: And *Sweden* offered her Mediation: But the Republic chiefly placed its Confidence in the *English* Parliament, which the King was obliged to assemble after so tedious a Prorogation.

A. D. 1673. THE *Cabal* had hitherto failed with a prosperous Gale, on a very dangerous Sea, famous for Vrecks, without any Opposition: But now they were stopped in their Course by a Rock which it was not possible to avoid; and this was the Parliament. Sir *Orlando Bridgman* resigned the Great Seal, rather than put it to the Declaration for Indulgence; and the Earl of *Shaftesbury* was made Lord-High-Chancellor. Sir *Henry Coe* entry succeeded Sir *John Trevor*, as Secretary of State: And Lord *Clifford* was sworn in Lord-Treasurer. When the Chancellor administered the Oath to the Lord-Treasurer in *Westminster-Hall*, he made a formal Speech upon the Occasion; in which he magnified the Abilities and applauded

plauded the Clemency of the King, who, he said, was A. D. a Prince that, best of all Mankind, deserved the Title 1673. of *Deliciæ humani generis*.

THE King was grossly flattered in every Thing by his Ministers ; while his Conduct was loudly upbraided by the People. The Court had given too broad Intimations of an ill Design, both on the Established Religion, and the Civil Constitution. The King told the Earl of *Essex*, “ he did not wish to be like a Grand Signior, with some Mutes about him, and Bags of Bow-Strings, to strangle Men, according to his Pleasure : But he did not think he was a King, as long as a *Company of Fellows* were looking into all his Actions, and examining his Ministers, as well as his Accounts.” The whole Proceedings of the Court manifested a Design to govern by the Model of *France* ; and a *French* General was sent over to command the Army, which was encamped on *Blackbeath*. This was Count *Schomberg*, a *German* by Birth ; and not only a firm Protestant, but his Mother was an *Englishwoman* : Yet, as an Army was a very unacceptable Thing to the *English* Nation, it came to be more odious, when commanded by a General sent over from *France* : So that *Schomberg* was much hated by the Nation, and little regarded by the Court.

SIR *William Temple*, at this Time, was of Opinion, that the Credit of the Exchequer, at least to any Measures that might supply the Course or Necessities of a War, was irrecoverably lost, by the last Breach with the Bankers : For Credit is gained by Custom and Force of Time ; but, if broken, is never well set again. A great Example was given of this, when *Charles* the First seized 200,000 *l.* that was in the Mint about the Year 1638, which had then the Credit of a Bank, and for several Years had been the Treasury of all the vast Payments transmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders* : But, after this Invasion of it, though the King paid back the Money in a few Months, the Mint never recovered its Credit among foreign Merchants.

THE King had exhausted his Money, and was obliged to call a Parliament ; which assembled on the 4th of

A. D. ¹⁶⁷³ February, after a Recess of one Year, and almost ten Months. It was in this eleventh Session that the Parliament began to recollect the great Ends for which they were chosen: And, if many of the Members had before acted as Pensioners to the Court, most of them now became Patriots to their Country. Sir *Job Charlton*, Serjeant at Law, was chosen Speaker; and his Majesty opened the Session with a Speech from the Throne, wherein he justified the Necessity of the War, for the Interest and Honour of the Kingdom: He said, their last Supply had not answered the End for which they gave it, the Payment of his Debts: He told them plainly, *he was resolved to stick to his Declaration for Indulgence to Dissenters*; and to augment his Army. The new Chancellor began to display his Elocution immediately after the King had ended his Speech; and, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, vindicated the Measures of the Court, in a very extraordinary Strain: He said, it had been rumoured, *That Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Hull, were to be given into the French Hands for Caution: That the Dutch were the common Enemies to all Monarchies, and especially to England, their only Competitor for Trade and Power at Sea; and who only stood in their Way, to an universal Empire, as great as Rome: That the Parliament judged aright, that at any Rate, Delenda est Carthago, that Government was to be brought down; and, therefore, the King might well say to his Parliament, It was their War: That the Dutch conceived the Parliament would grant his Majesty no Supplies to carry on the War; and, if they suffered them to get up, let this be remembered, The States of Holland are England's eternal Enemies both by Interest and Inclination: That the King thought it the Honour of his Reiga, to be the Restorer of the Church, which he would ever maintain: That the King was wedded to his Parliament; and, though this Marriage was according to Moses's Law, where the Husband could give a Bill of Divorce, put her away, and take another; yet it was as impossible for the King to*
part

part with his Parliament, as it was for them to de- A D.
part from their Loyalty.

1672.

SUCH Artifices were thin Disguises; and the florid Speech of *Shaftesbury* was like a clear Stream, reflecting the strait Trees, on its Borders, in crooked and irregular Shapes. The Commons had many Reasons to suspect the arbitrary Projects of the King; and were especially alarmed at an Innovation of their Privileges regarding the issuing of Writs for new Elections, which, since 1604, belonged to themselves: But the Chancellor had assumed this Power; which was so much resented by the House, that they immediately expelled all the Members that were so unduly elected. However, they granted a Supply of 1,200,000 *l.* by Way of Assessment for eighteen Months, at 70,000 *l.* a Month; which was intended to shew they had no Inclination to come to a violent Breach with the Crown, while they were determined to redress the Grievances of the People, and neglected to express their Approbation of the War. The King and his Ministers were not satisfied with this Supply: For they wanted almost double that Sum to refund the Money taken out of the Exchequer, and as much more to continue the War: So that they were in Hopes of obtaining a Grant of five Millions.

As the Members of the Court-Party died, the People elected others of a different Principle; which, in a Course of twelve Years, occasioned the Country-Party to prevail in the House, and throw an unexpected Impediment in the Way of the Ministers, much like what had happened in the Beginning of the *Long Parliament* in 1640. Twelve Years had the present Parliament been devoted to the King: But they scorned to be jockeyed by the *Cabal*, in whom they could place no Confidence. The Commons presented an Address to the King against his Declaration of Indulgence; and told him, "that penal Laws, in Matters Ecclesiastical, could not be suspended but by Act of Parliament." The King endeavoured to defend this Exercise of his Prerogative: The Commons represented that it would subvert the Legislative Power: And, at last, his Ma-

A. I. 1673. ^{1673.} Majesty annulled the Declaration, by cancelling the Seal with his own Hands.

THE King, through the Perspective of his Ministers, was fond of looking at arbitrary Power: But his Eyes were dazzled when he found himself on such a dangerous Precipice. The Fate of his Father recurred strong to his Memory: For, as he loved Pleasure and hated Business, he wanted Resolution to persevere in the difficult Road to which he had been led by his Inclination. So sudden a Recession from a Point of such Importance, convinced the *Cabal* that their Situation was dangerous: And *Shaftesbury*, as suddenly renounced the Court, to put himself at the Head of the Country-Party; who wanted such an enterprizing Leader, and received him with open Arms; without putting him to the Blush for his Apostacy.

THE Declaration of Indulgence had made no Impression upon the Dissenters, who acquired great Favour with the Parliament, by refusing to accept of such an illegal Toleration; which would equally have favoured the Papists, whose formidable Appearance made it Necessary to adopt a Plan for uniting the whole Protestant Interest against the common Enemy. The Parliament had addressed the King against Papists; and his Majesty published a seventh Proclamation, to as little Effect as the former. A Motion was made by *Clifford*, in the House of Lords, for establishing a perpetual Fund that might free the King from his Dependence on the Parliament. But this was so strongly opposed by *Shaftesbury*, that, while he was speaking, the Duke of York whispered the King, "What a Rogue have you of a Lord Chancellor!" To which the King replied, "What a Fool have you of a Lord Treasurer!" The *Test Act* was passed by the Influence of *Shaftesbury*; which seemed to deprive the Papists of enjoying any Places of Profit or Trust; because, not only the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were required; but all Belief in the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was to be abjured. Another Bill was preparing, to prevent Inter-marriages between Protestants and Papists; because it was

was apprehended the Duke of *York* would marry a A. D. Popish Lady. The Commons also petitioned against ^{1672.} the Grievances occasioned by the Army in *England*; and by the Papists in *Ireland*: But, on the 29th of *March*, the King adjourned the Parliament to the 29th of *October*.

In this Manner the *Cabal* was disunited by *Shaftesbury*, who afterwards opposed all the ministerial Proceedings; which has occasioned Father *Orleans*, and other Popish Writers, to vilify his Character, and represent him as a Monster of Ingratitude. The Test Act obliged the Duke to resign his Office of High Admiral; and *Clifford* that of Treasurer: While most of the Catholic Officers also quitted their Places. But *Shaftesbury* was dismissed from the Chancellorship; and the Seals were given to Sir *Heneage Finch*, as they had been to Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, under the Title of Lord Keeper: And Sir *Thomas Osborn*, formerly Lord Viscount *Dunblaine*, and afterwards Earl of *Danby*, was made Lord Treasurer.

WHILE these Alterations were made in the *English* Parliament and Ministry, the *Dutch* War was carried on both by Sea and Land, with great Vigor and Expence. The combined Fleets of *England* and *France* joined on the 16th of *May*; consisting of 140 Sail of all Sorts; of which there were Thirty large *French* Ships. The *English* were commanded by Prince *Rupert*, Sir *Edward Spragg*, and the Earl of *Ossory*, who had 6000 Troops on board, under *Schomberg*; while the *French* were again commanded by Count *D'Etrees*. They came up with *De Ruyter*, on the 28th of *May*, as he lay at Anchor within the Sands of *Schouvelt*, with 109 Sail of all Sorts, and surprized him, as he had done the Confederates, at *Solebay*, on the same Day the Year before. But the *Dutch* were now unprepared, as the *English* were then; and *Van Trump* came to engage Prince *Rupert*, as the Earl of *Sandwich* engaged *Van Ghent*. A Battle ensued, with little Loss; and the *Dutch* retired into their Harbours; from whence they came out again in less than a Week; and, on the 4th of *June*, another Engage-

A. D 1673 ment began, with less Loss, and more uncertain Success. However, the Confederates relinquished their first Design of making a Descent on the Isle of Zealand, and returned to England.

THE hostile Fleets met again, on the 11th of August, at the Mouth of the *Texel*, when a very desperate bloody Battle began. *D'Etrees* was opposed to *Brankert*, Prince *Rupert* to *De Ruyter*, and *Spragg* to *Van Trump*; who all behaved with great Skill and Bravery. The Fury of the Action lay chiefly between *Spragg* and *Van Trump*; who had several Times before selected each other as proper Antagonists, that fought for Glory. After a long and obstinate Engagement, both Commanders were obliged to quit their disabled Ships, and hoist their Flags on board others: When the brave *Spragg* had his Boat sunk by a Shot, as he was getting into a Third Ship, and unfortunately perished in the Ocean, over which he had so often triumphed. The Loss of such a gallant Commander was regretted by his heroic Rival, who generously gave him the Praises due to his Merit, and despaired of finding such another Enemy. If the *French* had bore down, the *Dutch* might have been totally defeated: But, after much Loss of Men on both Sides, in an Engagement which lasted from Morning 'till Night, each Fleet returned to its own Coasts, and boasted the Victory.

THUS *Holland* could not be humbled at Sea by the united Fleets of *England* and *France*; nor would the confederate Fleets venture again to take the 6000 Men, encamped at *Yarmouth* under *Schomberg*, to invade *Zealand*. The glorious Earl of *Ossory* had projected an Enterprize upon *Helvoetsluys*, to burn the *Dutch* Squadron which was laid up there, in Return for what they had done at *Chatham*: But this was prevented from being put into Execution by the Duke of *Buckingham*. *Parker* says, "That as Sir *Edward Spragg* had escaped so many Dangers, his Country being now safe and victorious, there remained no Honour for him, but that of a glorious Death." The *Dutch* also lost the Admirals *Swarts*, and *De Liefde*; yet no capital Ships were taken or destroyed, though many were disabled on both Sides. The *English* Sailors behaved

haved with their usual Bravery : But the Face of Affairs ^{A. D.} was so much altered since the Time of *Blake*, that they ^{1673.} considered the *Dutch* as their Friends, and the *French* as their Enemies. This was the last Battle between the *English* and *Dutch*, who had been so many Years debilitating their maritime Strength, to put *France* in a Condition of disputing the Sovereignty of the Ocean with them both. *Voltaire* says, the Duke of *York* was the first who invented the Art of giving Orders at Sea, by Means of the various Movements of Flags ; which the *French* soon learnt from the *English* ; as also all their other naval Skill : So that they did what the *Romans* had done before them ; who, in one Year, learned of the *Carthaginians* the Art of naval Combats, and equalled their Masters.

WHILE the War was thus carried on by Sea, it was not neglected by Land, where *Lewis* the Fourteenth rendered the military Art more perfect by the Industry of *Vauban*, who brought the Knowledge of Fortification to its Perfection. *Martinet* also introduced the general Use of the Bayonets, instead of Pikes ; which seemed the last Effort of military Invention, and has proved the most terrible of all others : But the Reduction of *Maestricht* was the only Advantage, which *Lewis* obtained during this Campaign ; for the Repose of *Europe* was so much disturbed by his Arms and Negotiations, that he could not prevent the Emperor, the Empire, and *Spain*, from joining the *Dutch*, and solemnly declaring War against the *French*.

CONDE could not penetrate into the Heart of *Holland* : *Turenne* could not prevent the Junction of the Imperialists, under *Montecuculi*, with the Prince of *Orange* ; nor hinder them from taking *Bonn*, and several other Places in the Electorate of *Cologne* : While the *Dutch* attacked the Bishop of *Munster*, who had vowed their Destruction. The Communication between *France* and the *United Provinces* was cut off ; and *Lewis* was obliged to abandon the three Provinces with as much Expedition as they had been conquered. The Fruits of this Enterprize were a bloody War to maintain against *Spain*,

A. D. the Empire, and *Holland* united; while he was soon
 1673. abandoned by *England*, then by *Munster*, and after by
Cologne: However he opposed all his Enemies, and extended his Territories.

A Congress had been vainly held at *Cologne*, under the Mediation of *Sweden*: But the Parliament of *England* prevailed upon their King to enter seriously into Negotiations of Peace, and cease to be the mercenary Instrument of the Grandeur of *France*.

SIR *William Temple* delivered his Opinion to the Duke of *Ormond*, on the Conjuncture of Affairs before the Meeting of the Parliament, in which he judiciously explained the Interest of *England*, and the System she ought to pursue. A Confederacy with *France* might involve *England* in a War with *Spain*, and occasion a great Deficiency in the King's Revenue, by losing the most important Branch of the National Trade; which then must be entirely suspended, in the same Manner as the *Dutch* Trade had been since the Beginning of the War. While the Minds of Men are generally possessed with a Belief of the Divine Being's concerning himself in human Affairs; the Opinion of Justice or Injustice in a Quârel will never fail of having a mighty Effect upon the Success of War. This gave *Cromwell* Success; and made it requisite for *Charles* to think of Peace.

THE Parliament met on the 20th of *October*, pursuant to Adjournment; and with a Disposition more alienated to the Court than ever. The Commons remonstrated against the intended Marriage of the Duke of *York* with a Popish Princess of the House of *Modena*; and the King told them, that his Brother could not recede from the Marriage which was already celebrated by Proxy. The Commons then enlarged upon their Grievances, inveighed against a standing Army, and refused any Supply if the Peace was unjustly retarded: Upon which the King suddenly prorogued the Parliament, from the 4th of *December* to the 27th of *January*.

A eighth Proclamation was published against the Papists, which was not capable of removing the Apprehensions of Popery; for the Princess of *Modena* and her
 Mother

Mother arrived in *England* on the 21st of *November*, A. D. when they were met by the Duke of *York* at *Dover*, ^{1673.} who was married to the Princess, by *Nathaniel Crew* Bishop of *Oxford*, on the Day of her Arrival. The Name of this Princess was *Mary-Eleanor Beatrix*; who was the Daughter of *Alphonso d'Este*, and Sister of *Francis* the reigning Duke of *Modena*. She had several Children by the Duke of *York*, who all died in their Infancy, except *James-Francis-Edward*, and *Louisa-Maria-Theresa*; the former of whom was afterwards usually stiled the *Pretender*, in whose Favour two formidable Rebellions were made in *Great-Britain* in 1715, and 1745. This Marriage was looked upon as the Introduction of Popery; and occasioned many Troubles in the Kingdom.

THE thirteenth Session of this second Parliament was A. D. opened on the 7th of *January*; when the King again ^{1674.} attempted to vindicate the Justice and Necessity of the *Dutch War*. The Parliament thought that War directly contrary to the Interest of *England*; and that it was dangerous to continue such an Alliance with *France*. They wanted to restore the Government to its natural State; and another Civil War had commenced if the King had obstinately persisted in his Engagements. His Ministers were attacked as Persons obnoxious and dangerous to the Government. *Buckingham* threw the Blame of every Thing upon *Arlington*, who was impeached, and acquitted; but lost the Favour of his Majesty. *Danby*, and *Lauderdale*, set up for the Patrons of the Church-Party, and the old Cavaliers; by taking up a new Measure, of doing all possible Honours to the Memory of King *Charles* the First, and to all that had been in his Interest. An Equestrian Statue of that unhappy Monarch was erected at *Charing-Cross*, where it continues to this Day: And a magnificent Funeral was designed for him, which had been hitherto neglected; nor was it farther thought on, till 1678. A General Test was prepared, as a Touch-stone to distinguish the Papists from the Protestants: But, before it was ready, the King prorogued the Parliament.

A D. 1674. THE States-General found the Parliament desirous of a Peace; and they made some Proposals for that Purpose by the Marquis *del Fresnoy* the *Spanish* Ambassador at *London*; which were accepted by the King, and approved of by the Parliament. His Majesty, indeed, was compelled by his Necessities to think of a separate Peace; because he had given away above three Millions Sterling to private Persons, and had not a Shilling in his Exchequer to continue the War. The Treaty was soon adjusted, and signed at *Westminster* on the 9th of *February*; whereby the *Dutch* yielded the Honour of the Flag in more extensive Terms than ever; submitted to a new Regulation of Trade; and agreed to pay the King 800,000 *Patacoons*, or 174,166 *l.* Sterling, for the Expence of the War. The Peace was proclaimed, at *London*, on the 28th, with more Joy than the War had been declared two Years before: And the *French* Monarch, instead of resenting this Defection of his Ally, accepted his Mediation of a Peace for *France*; which proved ineffectual. However, *Charles* continued his Partiality to *Lewis*; and received a yearly Pension from him of 100,000 *l.* Sterling, which he dissipated in Pleasure and Indolence.

THE Commons addressed the King for disbanding all Forces raised since the Year 1663; and boldly asserted, that even the Guards were a Standing-Army in Disguise, which were maintained only in arbitrary Governments. They began to take the Grievances of the three Kingdoms into their Consideration; which startled the King from his Repose, and he removed the Danger, by coming to the Parliament on the 24th of *February*, and proroguing it to the 10th of *November* following.

THE Earl of *Arlington* was made Lord High-Chamberlain of the Household; and Sir *Joseph Williamson* succeeded him as Secretary of State: While *Buckingham* lost all Countenance at Court; and the great Earl of *Clarendon*, whom they had so unjustly persecuted, died at *Roan*, in the 67th Year of his Age.

THE *French* Monarch carried on the War by himself, against the *Dutch*, *Imperialists*, and *Spaniards*. He made
a fresh

a fresh Invasion upon *Franche Comte*, which he reduced, A. D. and annexed to his own Dominions. The great *Turenne* ^{1674.} was victorious on the *Rhine* over the Imperial General *Caprara*, the old Duke of *Lorraine*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Prince of *Bourbonville*. He ravaged the Palatinate, ruined *Alsace*, and plundered *Lorraine*: But the Glory of this Hero was lamented by those of his own Nation, whose Humanity was superior to their Esteem of military Honour. The Prince of *Conde* commanded in *Flanders* against the Prince of *Orange*: They fought a bloody Battle at *Senef*, near *Mons*; in which almost 20,000 Men were destroyed, without a Victory on either Side; both being rather equally weakened than vanquished.

THE War that *Lewis* the Fourteenth kindled by attacking in so violent a Manner the *Dutch* Commonwealth, and by making so arbitrary an Use of his first Success, became general in the *Low-Countries*, in *Spain*, in *Sicily*, on the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, in *Denmark*, in *Sweden*, and in the Provinces of *Germany* belonging to these two Crowns: On the *Mediterranean*, the *Ocean*, and the *Baltic*. *France*, assisted by *Sweden*, supported this War with Advantage on every Side. The *Dutch* would have been glad to have got out of such an expensive War: But they were obliged to continue it for the Interest of their Allies, among whom the King of *Denmark* was associated. It is remarkable that, in the Course of this War, Conferences for a Peace were almost always open: First at *Cologne*, by the ineffectual Mediation of *Sweden*; and afterwards at *Nimeguen*, by that of *England*: But the *French* will have it, that the *English* Mediation was a Ceremony almost as vain as the Pope's Arbitration in the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and that *Lewis* himself was the only real Arbitrator.

IN 1675, *Montecuculi* headed the *Imperialists* against *Turenne*: They had both reduced War into an Art; and were the greatest Generals that ever opposed each other. After gaining more Honour by Marches and Encampments, than other Commanders had done by Victories, they were upon the Point of coming to an Engagement, near

A. D. near *Saltzbach* ; when the great *Turenne*, on the 27th of ^{1674.} *July*, in going to choose a Place whereon to erect a Battery, was struck on the Breast by a Cannon-Shot, which put a Period to his illustrious Life. Thus perished that Man who was the Glory of *France*, and an Honour to human Nature. As Marshal-General, he commanded over other Marshals : He was justly regarded as the greatest Commander in *Europe*, at a Time when the Art of War was more studied, and better understood, than ever : *Voltaire* thinks he most resembles *Gonzalvo de Cordova*, surnamed the great General : And another elegant Writer observes, that the Sorrow which his Death excited was equalled by nothing in History, but the Lamentations of the *Roman* People for the Death of *Germanicus* : Yet a third Parallel may be made, and that is by comparing *Turenne* to *Epaminondas* ; for that great *Theban* perished, like this great Frenchman, with Victory bleeding by his Side !

THE Marshal *de Crequi* was defeated at *Consarbruck* ; and *Montecuculi* passed the *Rhine* into *Alsace* ; which obliged the Prince of *Conde* to leave the Marshal *de Luxemburg* in *Flanders*, to oppose the Rival of *Turenne*. *Conde* and *Montecuculi* both signally distinguished themselves in this Campaign, without venturing a Battle : After which, they ceased to appear in the Wars ; and, like *Scipio*, and *Lelius*, spent the Remainder of their glorious Lives in a learned Retirement.

LEWIS continued the War against the Empire, *Spain*, and *Holland*, with numerous Armies, commanded by the Marshals *d'Humieres*, *Schomberg*, *la Feuillade*, *Luxemburg*, and *de Lorges*. In 1676, the French took *Conde* and *Bouchain* : *Valenciennes* and *Cambray*, in 1677 : And in 1678, *Ghent* and *Ypres*. The Prince of *Orange* lost the Battle of *Montcassel*, against such an effeminate Commander as the Duke of *Orleans* ; and *Crequi* repaired his former Losses in *Germany*.

THE French Monarch also turned his Arms against the Spaniards in *Italy*, by assisting the *Sicilians* in their Revolt from his Catholic Majesty. The Duke *de Vivonne*, in 1675, defeated the Spanish Fleet, and entered *Messina* in

in Triumph; which obliged *Spain* to implore the Assistance of her ancient Enemies the *Dutch*, and *De Ruyter* ¹⁶⁷⁴ was sent on that Expedition. The combined Fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* had three Engagements with the *French* Admiral *Duquene*, who was successful in all: And, in the second, which was fought near *Agousta*, on the East Coast of *Sicily*, on the 12th of *March* 1676, *De Ruyter* received a Wound which put an End to his glorious Life; nor was his Loss less regretted by the *Dutch*, than that of *Turenne* had been by the *French*.

THE young King of *Sweden*, as Ally to *France*, was engaged in nothing but an unsuccessful War against the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Father of the first King of *Prussia*; who deprived the *Swedes* of *Pomerania*, and began to gain his Country a Power and Weight, which has since been greatly increased. The *Swedes* had also the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Luxemburg*, for their Enemies. The former seized several Places in *Scania*; while the latter over-ran the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*: But they were afterwards restored.

THE *French* Monarch made his Enemies feel the Extent of his Power in every Part of *Europe*; and all the neighbouring Nations were astonished when they saw that *France* was suddenly become as formidable by Sea as at Land. Of all the Allies, the Prince of *Orange* alone acted with invincible Firmness; like a Patriot, and a Hero: But he had Difficulties in his own Commonwealth; the Governors of the *Spanish* Low-Countries sometimes crossed his Measures; the *German* Allies dissatisfied and broke them often; and it is not improbable that he was frequently betrayed. However, when the Prince married his Cousin, *Lewis* was afraid that *Charles* would be prevailed upon to become his Enemy; and therefore he seriously thought of a Peace, which, in 1678, was concluded at *Nimeguen*, under the apparent Mediation of *England*.

IN *ENGLAND* was now in Peace, when the fourteenth A. D. Session of the Parliament began, on the 13th of April, ¹⁶⁷⁵ after a Recess of fourteen Months, in the same Sentiments they had parted; nor was the King changed, either

AND either in his Inclinations, or Principles. Yet he again
 1675. professed his Zeal for the Protestant Religion; and the
 Parliament so much doubted the Reality of his Inten-
 tions, that they prepared a new Bill against the Growth
 of Popery. The Commons addressed the King against
Lauderdale and *Danby*, for endeavouring to deprive them
 of their ancient Rights and Liberties: They also desired
 him to recall his Troops from *France*; but he disregard-
 ed their Applications. The Lords suspected that the
 Commons went too far against the Royal Authority; and
 they began to revive the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, by
 imposing the old Test in a new Way: When it was said,
 that Tests were no Security to Government. The
 Position of *taking Arms, by the King's Authority, against*
his Person, was defended: Because, if a King was not
 a Tyrant, he might happen to be made Prisoner by his
 own Subjects, as was the Case of *Henry* the Third and
Henry the Sixth, when those, who should have the So-
 vereign in their Hands, might act in his Name, and
 Authority, by Virtue of his Commissions; while the
 Subjects might be restrained, by the contrary Doctrine,
 from endeavouring to procure his Liberty.

THESE Quarrels between both Houses were fomented
 by others of a private Nature; and, on the 9th of *June*,
 the King prorogued the Parliament to the 13th of *Octo-*
ber; before the Money-Bill, and other public Bills, were
 ready for the Royal Assent.

THE King opened the fifteenth Session, on the 13th
 of *October*, with a Demand of Supplies: But the Com-
 mons proved, that they had granted 3,040,000 *l.* for the
 War, which was a Million more than had been applied.
 It appeared, that the present Expences of the Govern-
 ment amounted only to 700,000 *l.* a Year; and that the
 clear Revenue came to 1,600,000 *l.* So that, if the King
 continued his Anticipations, it would prove the Ruin
 of the Kingdom. The Commons had fresh Reasons to
 declaim against the Introduction of Popery; and both
 Houses renewed their Quarrels with such Animosity, that
 the King, on the 22d of *November*, prorogued the Par-

liament

liament to the 15th of *February*, 1677, that is, for fifteen Months. A. D. 1675.

THIS Year the Prince of *Newburgh*, and the Dutchess of *Mazarine*, arrived in *England*: the former was well received by the King, on Account of the Civilities he had received from his Father; and the latter became the Patroness of Arts and Learning.

As no Parliament was held this Year, the Papists appeared more active, and less reserved; which offended the People, and occasioned the Ministry to suppress all Coffee-houses, on Pretence of being Places where dissipated Persons met to devise malicious Reports against the Government. While the King, instead of acting as an impartial Mediator between *France* and the *Allies*, was persuading the *Dutch* to make a separate Peace; and preserved a Neutrality, instead of acting against the common Enemy, whose Privateers were daily seizing *English* Ships on very unjust Pretences; which so much enraged the People of *England*, that they wanted nothing more than a War with *France*.

THE Parliament met on the 15th of *February*, according to the Prorogation, which had been the longest that ever was known, and occasioned a Dispute, whether by it the Parliament was not actually dissolved. The King opened this Sixteenth Session of Parliament with a Speech, declaring "That he was prepared to give them all the Satisfaction and Security in the great Concern of Religion; and to gratify them in a farther Security of their Liberty and Property: But that in return, he expected they should do something for him by avoiding all Occasions of Differences between the Two Houses; and granting him a Supply to make his Condition more easy." *Finch*, who had been made Lord Chancellor, paraphrased upon the Royal Speech, as his Predecessors had done: He said, "It would be somewhat strange, and without all Example in Story, that a Nation should be twice ruined, twice undone, by the self same Ways and Means, the same Fears and Jealousies:" But the Chancellor only spoiled what the King had spoke, by attempting to make it better.

THE

A. D. 1677. THE Duke of *Buckingham* made a Speech, to prove that the Parliament was dissolved; because by an unrepealed Statute of *Edward the Third*, a Parliament was to be held once a Year. He was seconded by the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Shaftesbury*, as also by Lord *Wharton*; who wanted a Dissolution of the Parliament: For they dreaded the Power of the Commons. The Position was dangerous; especially, as the Act which repealed the Triennial Law, had determined that it was necessary to hold Parliaments only once in three Years; and the four Peers were committed to the *Tower*, to remain there during the Pleasure of his Majesty and the House. They were all soon released, on making their Submission, except *Shaftesbury*, who continued a Year in Confinement before he would submit like the others.

THE Commons continued the additional Excise for three Years; and granted 586,000*l.* to build thirty Ships: But they addressed his Majesty to enter into such Alliances as might secure the *Spanish Netherlands*, and prevent the growing Power of *France*. The King declared, he was of their Opinion; and, on the 16th of *April*, passed some Acts; particularly one for taking away the Writ de *Hæretico Comburendo*, the Continuance of which, had made many People uneasy, as the Fears of Popery were daily increasing. He then adjourned the Parliament to the 21st of *May*, when they assembled again with so much Distrust of the King, that they were afraid of granting him the Supplies he requested. The *French* extended their Conquests in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and *Charles* had absolutely sold his Neutrality to *Lewis*. The Commons addressed him again more roundly, and urged him to enter into an offensive League with the *Dutch* against *France*, which his Majesty violently resented, as an Infringement on his Prerogative; and, on the 26th of *May*, adjourned the Parliament to the 16th of *July*, which was afterwards continued to the 15th of *January*.

THE Commons were now regularly divided into the *Court*, and *Country Parties*: Many Members had been bribed to associate with the former; while *Clifford* was in

in Power : and many had been drawn in to join the late A. D. 1677.
 ter out of private Views and Faction. His Majesty might certainly have been the Arbitrer of *Europe*, if he had exerted himself in pleasing his People, who dreaded his Attachment to *France*, and looked upon the *Spanish* Provinces as a Security to *Holland*, while they considered *Holland* as a Barrier to themselves. The Court Party said, a trading Nation, like *England*, could not endure a tedious War ; and that, by preserving a Neutrality, *England* obtained the singular Advantage of sole trading in Peace. The Country Party advanced, that, if the Power of *France* was not reduced, and brought to a more equal ballance, *England* must, first or last, fight or submit : For it was commonly the Fate of those who kept themselves neutral, when their Neighbours were at War, to become a Prey to the Conqueror.

IN 1667, the King made the Triple League ; and, in 1672 he made War, without Advice of the Parliament : But he was supported in both ; though the latter was against the Interest of the Nation. How much then were the Parliament concerned, and obliged, to supply and assist his Majesty in those Alliances and War if it ensued, which were so much for the Interest of *England*, and entered into by the pressing Advice of Parliament ? The Patriots cried out, " Let his Hand rot off, that is not stretched out for this Affair ! We will not stick at this, or that Sum or Thing ; but we will go with his Majesty to all Extremities. The Door towards *France* must be shut and guarded : So long as it is open, our Treasure and our Trade will creep out, and their Religion will creep in. Alliances ought to be made against the *French*, without which, plainly, we can give no Account to ourselves, or those we represent, of giving Money." They conceived, it was not agreeable to the Usage of Parliaments, to grant Supplies for Maintenance of Wars and Alliances, before they were signified in Parliament : And they asserted, that it had been the Desire and Endeavour of Kings in all Ages, to engage the Parliaments in advising War and Treaties of Alliance ; for which there were several Precedents : As in

Edward

A. D. *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fifth, and *James* the First. However, the King still favoured *France*, even so far as to furnish *Lewis* with military Stores, and to continue the *English* Troops in his Service, 'till the Prince of *Orange* attached him to his Interest: Though it should be remembered, that *Charles* had got himself released from his Engagement to maintain the 6000 Men, at his own Charge, for the Service of *France*.

THE King endeavoured to make the *Dutch* desert their Confederacy, by entering into a separate Peace; for which Purpose, he consented that the Prince of *Orange* should come to *England*, and personally solicit his Addresses to the Princess *Mary*, the Duke of *York*'s eldest Daughter, who was now in the 16th Year of her Age, and very amiable in her Person. The Prince arrived in *October*, and was graciously received by the King who seemed inclined to the Marriage between his Nephew and Niece, on Condition the Prince would previously agree to the Terms of a general Peace. His Highness said, "He would never sell his Honour for a Wife;" and the King found his People were so fond of his Nephew, that it was not safe to refuse him the Princess, who had been educated in the Protestant Religion, and was Heir apparent to the Crown. *Danby* and *Temple* promoted this Alliance, which was disagreeable to the Duke of *York*, who yielded to the Match in Obedience to the King. The Marriage Contract was made on the 14th of *October*, and the Princess was to have 40,000*l.* for her Portion: But the Nuptials were not celebrated 'till the 4th of *November*, which was the Birth-day of the Prince, who then entered into the 27th Year of his Age. The Council, the City, and the whole Kingdom, testified their Joy upon this Occasion; which gave great Popularity to the King; for no Measure during his long Reign, gave such general Satisfaction.

WHEN his Majesty told the Prince, he would bestow his Niece upon him, he said, "Nephew, remember that Love and War do not agree well together." He immediately consulted with the Prince, about a Plan for

a general Peace; and it was agreed that *France* should A. D. be obliged to leave a good Frontier for *Flanders*: But, 1677. as an Atonement to *France* for his Consent to the Marriage, his Majesty prolonged the Adjournment of Parliament from the 3d of *December* to the 4th of *April*; which was done with a View of preventing the Commons from engaging him in the War.

THE Prince and Princess of *Orange* embarked for *Holland*, where his Highness preserved his Credit and Authority. He was now considered as the Head of the Protestant Party; and nothing could make him swerve from the true Interest of his Country, nor from the common Interest of *Europe*. He had raised more Sieges, and lost more Battles, it was said, than any General of his Age had done. But his Defeats were manifestly due, in great Measure, to Circumstances independant on him: And that Spirit, which even these Defeats could not depress, was all his own: For he lived to be the Centre of Union to a whole Confederacy against *France*; and was the Soul that animated and directed so great a Body.

DOCTOR *Gilbert Sheldon*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died on the 4th of *November*, and was succeeded by Doctor *William Sancroft*, Dean of *St. Paul's*; because none of the Bishops were fitted to fill the Metropolitan See, whom the Court could trust.

THE *French* Monarch received the News of the Mar- A. D. riage of the Prince of *Orange*, as he would have done the 1678. Loss of an Army: And the Earl of *Feversham*, who was in the Confidence of the Duke of *York*, was sent to the *French* Court with the Proposition of Peace. Sir *William Temple* observes, that *Charles* suffered himself to be softened by the Softness of *France*; and, contrary to his Engagement, continued to treat, instead of drawing the Sword. He made only a defensive League with the States-General: And, instead of adhering to his Adjournment of the Parliament till *April*, he summoned them to meet on the 15th of *January*; in Hopes that this inconsiderable League would produce wonderful Effects.

HIS

A. D. 1678. His Majesty told his Parliament on the 28th, that he had taken Care for the Preservation of *Flanders*; and had used all the Means possible, by a Mediation, to procure an honourable and safe Peace for *Christendom*. He said, it should not be his Fault, if Peace could not be obtained by Force, which could not be had any other Ways. That he had recalled his Troops from *France*: But could not have less than 90 capital Ships constantly maintained; nor less than thirty or forty thousand Landmen. That he had borne the Charge both of a Rebellion in *Virginia*, and a new War with *Algiers*: All which made him expect a plentiful Supply. Thus the Necessities of the King were always predominant over the Interest of the State; and his Majesty had no Inclination of declaring against *France*, though he had made an Alliance with *Holland*.

THE 90 Ships were prepared, and 30,000 Soldiers raised in a Month: But the Commons suspected the King as much as ever; and their Eyes were opened by the Lords *Ruffel* and *Cawendish*; Sir *William Coventry*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Waller* the Poet, *Littleton*, *Porock*, and *Vaughan*. These were the chief Men that preserved the Nation from a very deceitful and practising Court, and from a corrupt House of Commons: For, by their Skill and Firmness, from a small Number who began the Opposition, they grew at last to be the Majority. They addressed the King, to admit of no Peace, whereby the *French* King should be left in Possession of any greater Dominion or Power, than was left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty: But, after many Altercations both at Home and Abroad, a Peace was concluded at *Nimeguen*, which gave *France* a much greater Accession of Territory and Power, than had been yielded to it by the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 1668.

THE Ambition of the *French* Monarch was no longer turned towards *Holland*: For the Republic had been so fortunate, or so cunning, as to appear only as an Auxiliary in a War, which had been commenced for her Destruction: While the *Empire* and *Spain*, who were at first Auxiliaries, at last became the principal Parties concerned

concerned. The *Dutch* had engaged to make neither A. D.
Truce nor Peace with *Lewis*, till he consented to restore 1678.
to *Spain* all he had conquered since the *Pyrenean Treaty* :
But they dropped *Spain* at *Nimeguen*, as they had dropped
France at *Munster*. The States were induced to sign a
Treaty, on the 11th of *August*, that broke the Confederacy,
and gave great Advantage to *France*. This separate
Treaty of Peace was immediately followed by another
between *France* and *Spain* ; and some Months after
with all the confederate Powers, except the Duke of
Lorrain, who could never obtain his Re-establishment.

MAESTRICHT was restored to the *Dutch* ; who,
instead of losing by this War, gained a Barrier ; for
which Purpose *Charleroi*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Ath*,
Ghent, and *Limburg*, were restored to the *Spaniards*.
But *Lewis* reserved *Bouchain*, *Condè*, *Ypres*, *Valencennes*,
Cambray, *Maubeuge*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Cassel*, *Charlemont*,
and some other Places, which made a considerable Part
of *Flanders*. He also retained *Franche Comte* ; and got
Friburg from the *Germans*, who confirmed the Treaties of
Westphalia : While he took Care that Part of *Pomerania*
should be restored to *Sweden*. By the Treaties of *Aix-la-Chapelle*
and *Nimeguen*, the *French* Monarch obtained
the principal Strength of that Barrier, against which
the Allies goaded themselves almost to Death in the
Wars of 1689 and 1702 ; when they made good the
saying of *Marshal Schomberg*, " That to attack this Bar-
rier, was to take the Beast by his Horns."

THE Prince of *Orange*, three Days after the Peace
was signed, attacked the Duke of *Luxemburg* at *St. Denys*,
near *Mons*. The *French* lost 2000 Men, and the
Dutch as many : But the Prince had the Reputation of
the Victory ; which signalized his Bravery, and taxed
him with the Neglect of Humanity. Thus the War
was ended, which had continued six Years ; and *England*
was obliged to take up Arms against any Power who in-
fringed the Peace.

THE Views of his *Britannic Majesty* were far from
being answered ; because the *Dutch* were as formidable
as ever, and *France* was not so much inclined, as for-

¹⁶⁷⁸ A. D. merly, to assist in establishing a numerous standing Army in *England*. There never had been seen, through the whole Course of *English* History, such mutual Distrusts between the Kings and Parliaments, as had subsisted the last sixty Years; if the Reigns of *Henry* the Third, and *Richard* the Second, are excepted. The Commons voted 70,000 *l.* for a solemn Funeral of his late Majesty, and for erecting a Monument to his Memory: But the Money was misapplied by the King, who neglected to pay that Honour to the Memory of his Father.† They addressed the King to remove those Counsellors who advised him to neglect their Addresses about the State of Affairs abroad: But, instead of obliging them, he prorogued the Parliament to the 23d of *May*, when he opened the seventeenth Session.

THE King told the Parliament, "That he would not suffer the old Method of passing of Laws to be changed, by tacking together several Matters in one Bill;" which the Lord Chancellor said, "Seemed to alter the whole frame and *Constitution* of Parliaments, and consequently of the Government itself." The Commons granted 619,380 *l.* for disbanding the Army, and towards defraying the Expences of the Navy: But when his Majesty demanded an additional Revenue of 300,000 *l.* a Year, they gave him a total Denial.

THE Parliament was prorogued. on the 15th of *July*, to the 1st of *August*: But the eighteenth Session was not opened till the 21st of *October*; before which Time, the Nation was alarmed with the Discovery of that famous Conspiracy, known by the Name of the *POPISH PLOT*, and which makes one of the principal Periods of this Reign.

WELWOOD says, "That there was at that Time a *Popish Plot*; and that there has always been one since the *Reformation*, to support, if not restore, the *Romish* Religion in *England*, scarce any Body calls in Question." But he adds, "What Superstructures might have been built upon an unquestionable Foundation; and how far
some

† See Vol. II. p. 282.

some of the Witnesses of this Plot might come to dark- A. D.
 en Truth by subsequent Additions of their own, must 1678.
 be deferred till the great Account be made before a
 higher Tribunal: And, till then, a great Part of the
Popish Plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all human
 Probability lie among the darkest Scenes of the *English*
History." An elegant and spirited Writer calls this,
 " A Transaction which had its Root in Hell, and its
 Branches in the Clouds ; and which, at the same Time
 that it excites so much Curiosity, remains to this Hour
 almost inexplicable." The Indulgence and Favour
 which had been uniformly extended to Papists, and the
 immediate Danger of a Popish Successor to the Crown,
 had prepared the Minds of the People to receive any
 Impression against Popery : The two Houses of Parlia-
 ment were inflamed, as well as the Populace : And the
 Courts of Justice were far from opposing the Torrent,
 which was opened upon the Papists.

CHRISTOPHER KIRKBY, on the 2th of *August*,
 came to the King in *St. James's-Park*, and said to him,
 " Sire, keep within the Company ; your Enemies have
 a Design upon your Life, and you may be shot in this
 very Walk." It appeared, that *Kirkby* had received this
 Information from Doctor *Ezrael Tonge*, whom *Burket*
 calls a very mean Divine, poor, simple, and credulous.
 The Doctor was brought to the King, and delivered to
 him a Writing, or Narrative, consisting of forty-three
 Articles, in which were contained the Particulars of a
 complicated *Plot*, 1. To kill the King. 2. To subvert
 the Government. 3. To extirpate the Protestant Re-
 ligion, and establish Popery. This Plot seems to be co-
 pie'd from that formed against Queen * *Elizabeth* in
 1584, and 1586: It was to stand upon the Oaths of
 a few infamous Witnesses ; and many Men lost their
 Lives on their Testimony. The King referred the
 Examination of this mysterious Affair to the Care of the
 Lord-Treasurer *Danby* ; to whom it was pretended, that
 the chief Promoters and Authors of the *Plot*, were, Pope

K 2

Innocent

* See Vol. II. p. 144, and 146.

A D. *Innocent* the Eleventh ; Cardinal *Howard* ; *Johannes Paulus de Oliwa*, General of the Jesuits at *Rome* ; *La Chaise*, Confessor to *Lewis* the Fourteenth ; the Provincial of the Jesuits in *New Castile* ; the Provincial of the Jesuits in *England* ; the Benedictine Monks at the *Savoy* ; the Jesuits, and Seminary Priests, in *England*, who were about 1800 ; the Lords *Poswis*, *Petre*, *Arundel* of *Wardour*, *Stafford*, and othert Persons of Quality. The King concluded the Whole to be a Fiction ; and *Danby* was remiss in his Enquiry : For *Burnet* says, If the Thing had been traced quick, either the Truth, or the Imposture, of the whole Affair, might have been made appear.

BEDINGFIELD, a Jesuit, and Confessor to the Duke of *York*, received a Packet of Letters, which he imagined to be forged, to countenance some dark Design ; and shewed them to the Duke, who promoted a close Inquiry into the Conspiracy before the Council. *Tonge* now introduced *Titus Oates*, as the first Discoverer of the Plot ; who was himself proud, ignorant, and the most infamous of Mankind. He was bred a Clergyman at *Cambridge* ; and had enjoyed a small Vicarage in *Kent* : But was indicted for Perjury, and escaped on Board the Fleet, where he officiated as a Chaplain, till he was dismissed upon Complaint of some unnatural Practices too indecent for the Language of History. He soon became a Convert to the Jesuits, who allowed him Nine-Pence a Day, and sent him to *St. Omers* ; from whence he went into *Spain*, and was now returned to *England*, furnished with those Materials of which *Tonge* had composed his Narrative. He spoke to *Burnet* with great Fury against the Jesuits, and said he would have their Blood ; for that he had gone among them on Purpose to betray them : “ Which, says the Bishop, gave me such a Character of him, that I could have no Regard to any Thing he either said, or swore, after that.”

TONGE, *Oates*, and *Kirkby*, were examined before the Council, on the 28th of *September* : After which, several of the Persons, whom they had named as Conspirators, were apprehended ; particularly, Sir *George Wakeman*,

Wakeman, Physician to the Queen; Mr. *Edward Cole-A. D.* *man*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*; and eight Jesuits. ^{1676.} Letters were found belonging to *Coleman*; which served to corroborate some Part of the Testimony given by *Oates*, and diffused a general Pannic throughout the Nation; because it was conceived, that the active and enterprizing Spirit of the Jesuits, was dangerous to every other Communion, as their Missionaries had penetrated into the remotest Regions, and were afraid of no Danger to establish their Doctrine, in Opposition to all States, whether *Protestant* or *Greek* in *Europe*, *Makometan* in *Asia*, or *Pagan* in *Africa* and *America*. *Oates* had sworn, that the Jesuits were not only to murder the King: But that the great Fire of *London* had been their Work, and it was determined in like Manner to burn all the chief Cities in *England*; as also to make Insurrections, Rebellions, and Massacres, in all the three Kingdoms, till the Protestant Religion was utterly extirpated. Such was the Pre-possession of the Nation, that these chimerical Notions were greedily swallowed; though the Pill, even as gilded by *Oates*, must have required more than the Stomach of an Ostrich for any Kind of Digestion.

WHILE the general Delusion was spreading, like a Circle formed by a Stone in a smooth and placid Lake; the Truth of the Conspiracy was so much confirmed by the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, that it was almost criminal to deny the Reality of the Plot. This Gentleman was an eminent Justice of the Peace, that lived near *Whitehall*, and had sworn *Oates* to his Narrative; which made it universally believed that he was killed by the Papists, and his Body concealed in a Ditch near *Primrose-Hill*, between *London* and *Hampstead*, where it was found on the 17th of *October*, after he had been missing five Days. His own Sword was sticking in the Body: His Rings were upon his Fingers; and Money in his Pocket. The Jury, upon the Coroner's Inquest, and the Advice of Surgeons, gave their Verdict, that his Death proceeded from Suffocation and Strangling. Their Verdict seems justified by the Account

1678. A. D. given of this Matter by Bishop *Burnet*, who says he saw the Body, which was marked all over with Bruises of the Breast, and the Neck was broken, with a Mark all round it, an Inch broad, which shewed he was strangled. The dead Body of *Godfrey* was publicly exposed in the Streets of *London*; which excited in the Protestants as much Hatred against the Papists, as the dead Body of *Lucretia* did against the *Tarquins*, or that of *Julius Cæsar* against the Conspirators in *Rome*. His Funeral was performed with uncommon Solemnity; the Corpse being preceded through the principal Streets of the City by 72 Clergymen, and followed by above 1000 Persons of Distinction, to *St. Martin's in-the-Fields*. But in what Manner this Magistrate met with his Death was never certainly known; though it was in general, at first, attributed to the Papists, and afterwards to the Duke of *York* in particular, to whom he had never been an Enemy.

THE Popish Plot was calculated rather to terrify, than to convince; and the King was unwilling to say much concerning it to his Parliament, which met on the 21st of *October*: But both Houses gave their Sanction to the popular Belief, by rendering the Affair of much greater Importance than it deserved. *Oates* was called the Saviour of the Nation; though he was evidently the greatest Villain in it: He had a Pension of 1200 *l.* a Year; and such bountiful Encouragement brought forth new Witnesses.

THE Earl of *Powis*, the Viscount *Stafford*, the Lords *Arundel*, *Petre*, and *Bellasis*, all Papists, were committed to the *Tower*, and impeached of High-Treason. Sir *Henry Tichbourn*, and others, were imprisoned: While one *William Bedloe*, who assumed the Title of *Captain*, became a second Witness in the Plot; but with a Character as infamous as *Oates*. This new Witness declared, that Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was murdered in *Somerſet-House*; and he made great Additions to the Conspiracy as stated by *Oates*: Upon which, the Laws were more rigidly put in Execution against the Papists, and the King abandoned them to the Resentment of their

their Enemies; at a Time when Reason was clouded with Fear, and Humanity stifled with Passion. A. D. 1678.

STALEY, a Popish Banker in *Covent-Garden*, was accused with a Design of murdering the King. He died on Account of this Accusation; though *Carstairs*, a very vile *Scotchman*, was his Accuser; and a very unjust one, if *Burnet* is to be credited. *Oates*, and *Bedloe*, had even the Audacity to accuse the Queen, of being concerned in a Plot against the Life of her Husband: But the King despised the Insult on his injured Consort, and ordered *Oates* to be confined; nor could the daring Informer obtain his Liberty, without making Applications to the Parliament; which was soon afterwards dissolved.

COLEMAN was brought to his Trial, on the 27th of *November*, before Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, who owed his Rise to the Earl of *Danby*, and was more valued for a good Readiness in speaking well, than either for Learning in his Profession, or for any moral Virtue: Therefore, says *Burnet*, it was a melancholy Thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a Man raised up to that great Post. The Witnesses produced against him were *Oates* and *Bedloe*: He was condemned as a Traitor, and executed: But persisted to the last Moment in the Denial of the Crimes for which he was sentenced to die. *Ireland*, *Pickering*, and *Grove*, who were all Jesuits, were likewise convicted, by the same Evidence; and executed, with Protestations of their Innocence: But *Oates* severely suffered in the next Reign, on a Charge of Perjury against these Men; for it was then dangerous to affirm, that there was a *Popish Plot* in 1678: Though, at this Time, both Houses of Parliament concurred in renewing a former Vote "that the Papists had entered into a horrid and treasonable Conspiracy against the King, the State, and the Protestant Religion."

THE King dissolved the Parliament, in 1679: But no Interruption was given to the Prosecution of the Catholics accused of the Plot, after the next Parliament assembled. *Hill*, *Green*, and *Berry*, were executed for the Murder of *Godfrey*, upon the Evidence of *Prance*,

who swore they committed it at *Somerset-House*: But they denied the Fact to the last, and their Innocence was afterwards believed. The five Jesuits, *Whitebread* the Provincial, *Harcourt*, *Fenwick*, *Garwen*, and *Turner*, were next tried for the Plot, on the old Evidence, with the Addition of *Dugdale*, a new Witness, of a better Character than the others. *Garwen* offered to undergo the *Ordeal*, or fiery Trial, over red-hot Plow-shares, as a Test of his Innocence: Which was refused; because that Custom had been abolished since the Reign of * *Edward the Confessor*, whose Queen *Editha* was the last who underwent that Kind of Trial, in 1044. They were condemned, together with *Langborn* an eminent Popish Counsellor-at-Law of the *Temple*; and they all solemnly declared their Innocence when they were executed.

THE Trials, and Executions, of all these Men were beheld, by the Populace, with that Kind of uncharitable Joy, which had been shewn to the Regicides of the late King. There certainly was a Design to render the King absolute, and introduce the Popish Religion; to which the King himself had long contributed: But it was generally believed, that the Jesuits intended to kill the King, and place the Duke of *York* on the Throne, as more proper to advance their Designs than his Brother. This Belief was founded on the Credit of very infamous Witnesses; nor could the Protestations of dying Men invalidate the Testimony. The Jesuits were accused of approving Equivocations, and mental Reservations; on which Account their Declarations of Innocence were disregarded; notwithstanding *Whitebread*, with the Rope round his Neck, testified an Abhorrence of this Doctrine. † *Garnet* the Jesuit, and the other Conspirators concerned in the Gunpowder-Plot, seventy-four Years before, freely acknowledged their Treason: *Whitebread*, and his Fellow-Sufferers, denied the Charge; and, what is remarkable, *Berry* died a Protestant; of which the Papists made their Advantage with Regard to the others. There was Matter enough to
work

* See Vol. I. p. 156.

† See Vol. II. p. 179. ..

work on the Fears and Apprehensions of the Nation : So it was not to be wondered at, if Parliaments were hot, and Juries were easy, in their Prosecution ; while the People were terrified with the Recollection of the *Irish* Massacre in 1641. *

THE Informers next proceeded on their Charge against Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician ; which was looked upon as equal to a Charge against her Majesty ; because he was accused of an Intention to poison the King, for the sake of a Reward of 15,000*l.* from the Jesuits. Here the Informers began to be suspected, and Humanity to prevail in the Nation. The King was convinced of the Innocence of his Queen : Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, who had before indecently encouraged the Witnesses, began now to discountenance them : And the Jury acquitted the Prisoner ; as also three others, who were Benedictine Priests, charged of being concerned in the Plot. This fixed a lasting Reproach upon the Witnesses, and made all their Veracity suspected. *Burnet* even says, that *Oates* and *Bedloe*, by their Behaviour, detracted more from their own Credit, than all their Enemies could have done. The former talked of all Persons with insufferable Insolence ; and the latter was a scandalous Libertine in his whole Deportment ; though, on his Death-Bed, he acquitted the Queen of being concerned in the Plot.

THE late Executions were generally imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Shaftesbury*, who drove them on, in Expectation that some of the Criminals would think of saving themselves by accusing the Duke of *York* : But the taking away so many Lives, on the Credit of such Witnesses, sunk the Credit of the Plot, and took away the Force of what was certainly true, *that the whole Party had been contriving a Change of Religion by a foreign Assistance*. Every Execution abated the Heat of the Nation ; like a new Bleeding, which allays the Rage of a Fever ; and the Death of *William*, Lord Viscount *Stafford*, greatly dissipated the popular Fervor.

K 5

THIS

THIS Nobleman was the younger Son of the old Earl of *Arundel*, and Uncle to the present Duke of *Norfolk*. He married the Heiress of the great Family of the *Staffords*: And, from the very Commencement of the Civil Wars, had maintained an unshaken Loyalty. He had entered into Schemes for procuring a Toleration to the Catholics; or, at least, a Mitigation of the penal Laws enacted against them; and had offered the King 100,000*l.* when he was at *Breda*,* for that Purpose: But he was originally charged by *Oates*, as a principal Person concerned in the *Pepish Plot*. His Lordship had denied the Fact he was charged with before the House of Peers; after which, he surrendered himself to the Lord Chief Justice, and was committed to the *Tower*, with the other Catholic Lords, in 1678; whose Impeachments, after so long an Interval, were vehemently renewed by the Commons. If Mr. *North*, or Sir *John Reresby*, are to be credited, Lord *Stafford* was selected by the Commons for inevitable Destruction; because, he was old, naturally timorous, and had less Popularity than any of the other Catholic Lords.

THE Lord Chancellor had been created Earl of *Nottingham*, and was now appointed Lord High Steward for conducting this Trial; which was very augustly opened in *Westminster Hall*, on the 30th of *November*, and continued five Days. His Lordship was charged, in the Names of all the Commons of *England*, with having imagined and contrived to murder the King, to introduce *Popery*, and subvert the Government. He pleaded *Not Guilty*; and the Witnesses produced against him were *Oates*, *Dugdale*, and *Turberville*. The Managers for the Commons urged the firing the City and burning the Navy, the calling in *French Armies*, the wild *Irish*, and *Spanish Pilgrims*. The Witnesses swore, that the Prisoner was to be Paymaster of the Papal Army; and that he had encouraged them to murder the King. His Lordship made a pathetic Defence, remarked the Infamy of the Witnesses, and protested his own Innocence, with that Force of Simplicity, which drew Compassion from his

* See this Vol. Page 43.

his Auditors. He remembered them, how faithfully he had served the King in the late Wars ; how much himself, his Wife, and Family, had suffered on that Account : how easily he might have prevented those Miseries, if he would have turned a Rebel ; and consequently, how improbable it was, that, in his old Age, and happy Circumstances, he should be guilty of so horrid a Crime, proved only against him by the incredible Stories of three infamous Men. Sir *William Jones*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, and Mr. *Powle*, summed up the whole Evidence, with such amazing Art and Address, that the Prisoner was found guilty by Fifty-five Voices against Thirty-one : And, when he received his unexpected Sentence, he said, *God's holy Name be praised!* He was promised his Life, if he would confess the Plot : But, to his last Moment, he denied that he knew any Thing of such a Conspiracy. This unfortunate Nobleman was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, on the 29th of *December* ; when he protested his Innocence with such a Strain of exalted Fortitude, Christian Devotion, and pathetic Charity, that he drew Tears from the Spectators, who before had treated him with a brutal Indecency. The Executioner sighed as he gave the fatal Stroke, which laid *Stafford* at Rest, in the 68th Year of his Age ; and a melancholy Silence seized on all the Multitude, which shewed, however their Passions had been inflamed, they were not divested of Humanity.

THIS was the End of the *Plot*, for which so much Blood had been shed, on the Evidence of such Witnesses, who were never credited by the King. Therefore, it seems strange, that his Majesty should withhold the most amiable Privilege of his Prerogative from this unhappy, venerable Peer ; especially as he had been absolved, on his Trial, by some Lords, who had distinguished themselves by their Aversion to Popery. But Viscount *Stafford* was sacrificed to please the Populace, as well as the Earl of *Strafford* had been Forty Years before : Though, in 1685, *Oates*, the surviving Witness, was severely punished, and the Lords voted a Reversal of *Stafford's* Attainder. “ When the Design, says Mr. *North*,

is to drive Men upon Changes that are to terminate in their own Confusion, and Perdition, it is not to be attempted without an extreme Insanity of Mind, or Infatuation in the Generality of the People, by way of Postulatum, to be well established by previous Experiments upon them." It is certain, the Nation had great Reason to dread the Introduction of Popish Priests, and the Extension of Popery: That more than a Toleration might be apprehended: And *Oates* lighted the Firebrand, which immediately alarmed the whole Kingdom. If the People were too weak and credulous; they were drove on by the wicked and designing Leaders of a Party, who painted the Papists in such Colours as if they had been so many Devils. Barbarity is the Attendant of Delusion; and that Credulity which was shewn to this Plot, is a Disgrace to the Nation: For it seems to stand on such feeble Legs, that, in Honour to Humanity, it should be consigned to Oblivion. But one Plot gave rise to another; and these *Oatesian* Storms, as *North* calls them, were not only confined to *England*: Their Rage was felt in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; while *Protestant Plots* were formed in *England*, to favour the Ends of the Papists. The *Meal-tub Plot*, in 1679, occasioned only Disgrace to the Popish Party: But, in 1681, a *Protestant Plot*, to murder the King, began to be credited; and, in 1683, the *Rye House Plot* was discovered, which smeared the Scaffold with the noblest Blood of *England*; and Patriots died for Religion as well as Liberty. The monstrous Character which *Cicero* particularly applies to *Cataline*, the Conspirator, may be applied to the Witnesses brought to prove these Conspiracies: For they would make Men believe that there were now as many Conspirators in *England*, as there were in *Rome*, under the Reign of *Commodus*, or any of the succeeding Emperors to the Time of *Constantine*. In 1684, *Oates* was imprisoned for his Perjury, and suffered severely for it in the Reign of *James* the Second: While, the same Year that his Imprisonment began, the surviving Popish Lords were admitted to Bail, and released from a six Years Confinement in the *Tower*. Upon the whole of these

Plots,

Plots, Burnet says, "There were the last Words of dying Men on their Death-beds, against the last Words of those that suffered : That these Things put a Man quite in the Dark ; and in this Mist Matters must be left till the great Revelation of all Secrets."

It is now proper to return to the Business of Parliament, and other Matters, which were in Agitation, from the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, in 1678, to the Execution of Lord *Stafford* in 1680. His Majesty opened the eighteenth Session of the second Parliament, on the 21st of *October*, with a Speech, in which he told them, that the well securing of what was left in *Flanders* obliged him to keep up his Troops, instead of disbanding them. He said, he had been informed of a Design against his Person by the Jesuits ; and would leave the Matter to the Law. And he concluded, with his usual Complaint, that his Revenue was under great Anticipations, and at best was never equal to the constant Expence of Government. The Chancellor added, that though the Peace was very far from what his Majesty could have wished ; yet it was such a Peace as his Neighbours were resolved to have. The Earl of *Danby* informed the Lords of the *Popish Plot*, and thereby offended the King, who told his Minister, that he had given the Parliament a Handle to ruin himself ; which *Danby* afterwards found to be true. The Parliament addressed the King on that Occasion, and gave several Testimonials of their Loyalty ; particularly, by passing a Bill to prevent the Danger from so many Papists sitting in Parliament ; which was intended even to reach the Duke of *York*, and exclude him from the Succession to the Crown.

POPERY was now called Idolatry ; and the King bent so far beneath the Fury of this collected Storm, as to desire the Parliament to think of some more effectual Means for the Conviction of Popish Recusants. He promised to join in all the Ways that might establish a firm Security of the Protestant Religion to the End of the World. But they still doubted his Intentions ; and the Commons sent Sir *Joseph Williamson*, a Member of
their

A. D. 1678. their House, and Secretary of State, to the *Tower*, for counter-signing several Commissions granted to Popish Officers; and many Warrants for them to continue their Commands, without qualifying themselves according to the late Act of Parliament. The King immediately released his Secretary, and the whole Cry of the Nation was against Popery.

BESIDES the Bill passed to disable Papists from sitting in Parliament, there was another for disbanding the Army, and a Third for raising the Militia. On the 30th of *November* the King gave the Royal Assent to the First, with a Clause for excepting the Duke of *York*: He shewed himself willing to recall his Forces from *Flanders*: But absolutely rejected the Militia Bill; declaring he would not put the Militia out of his Power, for one Hour. The Papists were now expelled from their Seats in Parliament by a new Test, in which Transubstantiation was not only renounced, but the Worship of the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, as practised in the Church of *Rome*, was declared Idolatrous. Nor was the Duke of *York* secure under the excepting Clause; and, while *Danby* was impeached for his Administration, the Duke was to be excluded for his Religion.

THE Lord-Treasurer, *Thomas Earl of Danby*, was considered as the Prime Minister; and a strong Party was formed to ruin him, in the same Manner as the Duke of *Buckingham* had been pursued in 1626. * Mr. *Montague*, who had been Ambassador in *France*, produced two Letters to the House of Commons, subscribed by the Earl of *Danby*; which discovered to the House, from whence the Delays had proceeded with regard to the War against *France*. It was evident, that these Delays were occasioned by the King, and that the Earl acted only by his Orders, in negotiating a private *Pension-Treaty* with *Lewis*. However, on the 23d of *December*, *Danby* was impeached by the Commons, on a Charge of six Articles; whereby he was accused, of engrossing to himself Regal Power, by treating in Matters of Peace and War, with foreign Princes and Ambassadors, and giving Instructions to Ambassadors, with-

out

* See Vol. II. p. 204.

out the Participation of either of the Secretaries of A. D. State, or his Majesty's Council; of endeavouring to 1678. subvert the Government, by introducing arbitrary Power, and continuing the Army; of negotiating a Peace for the *French* King, upon Terms disadvantageous to *England*; of concealing the Popish Plot; of wasting the King's Treasure, by issuing 231,602 *l.* within two Years, for unnecessary Pensions, and secret Services; and of indirectly procuring to himself several considerable Gifts and Grants from the Crown.

ALL these Articles were charged as so many Acts of Treason: But the Lords reflected on the Business of the Earl of *Strafford*, and on constructive Treason; because this was considered as a Device to condemn a Man, for a Fact which was not criminal by Law. The Lords were against the Commitment, which the Commons impatiently desired; and the Earl of *Carnarvon* exclaimed against the Prosecution, by merrily laying open the ill Fate of such Prosecutors: For, said his Lordship, "The Earl of *Essex* was run down by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and my Lord *Bacon* ran down Sir *Walter Raleigh*: The Duke of *Buckingham*, ran down my Lord *Bacon*; and the Earl of *Strafford* ran down the Duke of *Buckingham*: Sir *Harry Vane* ran down the Earl of *Strafford*; and Chancellor *Hyde* ran down Sir *Harry Vane*." He humorously told the Fate of all these Prosecutors, and added; "The Earl of *Danby* ran down Chancellor *Hyde*: But what will become of the Earl of *Danby* your Lordships best can tell: Yet let me see the Man that dare run the Earl of *Danby* down, and we shall soon see what will become of him."

DANBY reverted Part of the Charge on *Montague*; and made himself appear innocent as to the severest Part of the rest. He declared, "He had delivered it as his constant Opinion, that *France* was the worst Interest his Majesty could embrace; and that they were the Nation in the World from whom, he believed, he ought to apprehend the greatest Danger; and who had both his *Person* and his *Government*, under the last Degree of Contempt." He added, "He had Reason to believe, that,

A. D. 1678. that, in the House of Commons, the Matter of his Charge, if proved, was not thought to amount to Treason, either by Statute or Common Law: And he hoped their Lordships had too sad an Example in their Memory, ever to assist the making of Treason by Accumulation." His Lordship hereby referred to the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*: * But he escaped his Fate; though *Strafford* was no more guilty of Treason in the Eye of *Charles* the First, than *Danby* was in the Opinion of *Charles* the Second. Both Ministers were guilty of Misdemeanors, by doing Violence to the Constitution, in exerting the ministerial Prerogative; which cannot be an Excuse to a Minister in such a limited Kingdom as *England*, though he should Act only in Obedience to the King; whose Commands it is Virtue to disobey, when they are repugnant to the Laws; for these Laws will bring any Minister to an Account, notwithstanding the Sovereign may protect him from Punishment, in any Case except that of an Attainder, which was what occasioned the Destruction of the Earl of *Strafford*.

His Majesty was afraid of exposing his Minister to the Resentment of the Commons, with whom he was disgusted for their violent Prosecution of the Popish-Plot, and for their Practices in attempting to alter the Establishment of the Militia. He justly apprehended that his Brother would be struck at, as openly as his Minister; and he found no Hopes of removing the Difficulties with which his Court was surrounded, but by dissolving the Parliament. The Nation was universally inflamed with the strongest Prejudices; and it was necessary to apply a violent Remedy, when the Disease was desperate. The King contented himself at first with the Prorogation of the Parliament, from the 30th of *December* to the 10th of *February* following: But the Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Danby*, found it their Interest to have a Dissolution before that Time. Accordingly, on the 24th of *January*, the King dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation; declaring the Cause

of

* See Vol. II. p. 221.

of this Proceeding to be, "The many Inconveniencies A. D. arising from the over-long Continuance of one and the same Parliament." He promised to call a new Parliament, which was to assemble at *Westminster*, on the 6th of *March*: But the Expectations of the Court were not answered by this Dissolution.

THUS ended the second, or the *Long-Parliament*, which had continued seventeen Years, eight Months, and sixteen Days. * It was proposed by the Lords, in 1675, to address the King and dissolve the Parliament; because it was manifest the two Houses could no longer maintain the Correspondence that was necessary. But the Bench of Bishops was against it, and it was not carried: Though it was said, a standing Parliament changed the *Constitution* of the Kingdom: *That* the King no more consulted with his People, who were cut off from their Liberty of electing, and had no more a true Representative: *That* a Parliament of such a long Continuance would be either an Engine to sell the Liberties of their Country; or would join with the People against the Crown, by rendering themselves popular; and, in either Case, it might be destructive to the Constitution. This Parliament was very liberal to the King, and favourable to the Ministers, for the first twelve Years; after which, they grew jealous of the Alliance the King had contracted with *France*; and at last opposed the Growth of Popery, as zealously as the first *Long Parliament* † had done in 1642. The Sparks of Faction preserved the Flame of Liberty; and the Differences between the King and the Parliament kept the *Constitution* entire, when it was threatened with a Wreck. It is true, that many Members were purchased either with ready Money or Pensions; which was so publicly practised, after *Clifford* presided at the Treasury, that the Name and Price of every Man were publicly known. Yet they had got it among them for a Maxim, which contributed not a little to the Preservation of the Kingdom, while it was in such Hands, "That, as they must not give
the

* See this Vol. p. 57. † See Vol. II. p. 228.

A. D. 1678. the King too much at a Time, lest there should be no more Use of them; so they were to take Care not to starve the Court, lest they should be starved themselves." And if they were stigmatized with the Epithet of the *Pensionary Parliament*; their Venality was equalled by those who pretended to more Integrity; and who bestowed upon this Parliament such an ignominious Appellation, that they themselves might the more readily prevail upon others to swallow the gilded Pill of Corruption, when administered by their own Hands.

A. D. 1679. **ROBERT SPENCER**, Earl of *Sunderland*, was appointed Secretary of State, in the Room of Sir *Joseph Williamson*. The Earl of *Danby* resigned his Staff, and the Treasury was put into Commission, under the Direction of *Arthur Capel* Earl of *Essex*, *Laurence Hyde*, Brother to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *Edward Dering*, and *Sidney Godolphin*. But the King granted *Danby* a full Pardon under the Great Seal: And, by his Advice, prevailed upon the Duke of *York* to quit the Kingdom, and retire to *Brussels*, with his Family: All which was done for Fear of the new Parliament, which was expected to be more refractory than the former. The Court interested itself in the Election, more than ever had been done since the Foundation of the Monarchy. The People thought their *All* was at Stake, on Account of the Popish Conspiracy. And the Presbyterians, out of the Dread of Popery, acted so strenuously in Conjunction with the Episcopalians, by splitting their Freeholds, and multiplying the Votes of Freeholders, that the Court had no Expectation of a Majority.

THE *Third Parliament* met, on the 6th of *March*; when the King expressed his Desire of Unanimity; said, he had consented to the Exclusion of the Popish Lords in Parliament; and commanded his Brother to absent himself abroad, because he would not leave malicious Men room to say, he had not removed all Causes which could be pretended to influence him towards Popish Counsels: He declared, he was ready to join in such farther Laws as might secure the Kingdom against Popery:

Popery: But remembered them, that he wanted Supplies A. D. for several Occasions. And he concluded, as he begun, ^{1679.} with his earnest Desires to have this a HEALING-PARLIAMENT.

THE Lord Chancellor made a long Harangue, and said, "The Results of this Council seem to be decisive of the Fate of these Kingdoms for many Ages; and are like to determine us either to Happiness, or Misery, of a very long Duration. Foreign Nations have laid it down for a Maxim in Politics, that *England* can never be destroyed but by itself; and that it is in vain to make any Attempts upon this Nation, until they be in some great Disorder and Confusion among themselves." He exhorted them, to act as if they had but one Heart; and directed the Commons to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker.

THE Commons elected Mr. *Edward Seymour*, Treasurer of the Navy, one of the Privy-Council, and Speaker to the last Parliament. This Gentleman would have declined the Chair; and the King wanted it to be filled by Sir *Thomas Meres*: But the Commons persisted in their Choice; and the King excepted against Mr. *Seymour*, without assigning any Reason; though the King refused to confirm him, because he was an Enemy to *Danby*. The Commons said, this was an ominous Thing, to stumble at the Threshold, before they were in the House: They were so tenacious of their Privileges, and the King of his Prerogative, that they disputed about this Matter to the 13th, when the King prorogued the Parliament to the 15th, on a Compromise that both Candidates should be set aside. The Commons then nominated *William Gregory*, Serjeant at Law, who was approved by the King: But the Point was settled, that the Right of electing a Speaker was in the House, and that the Confirmation was a Thing of Course.

THE Commons were determined to wreak their Resentment on the Earl of *Danby*, whom they considered as the Author of the late Controversy; and they revived his Impeachment, notwithstanding his Pardon; which they

A.D. they said could not impede a Prosecution of Parliament.
 1579. The King went to the House to intercede for *Danby*; who, he said, had acted in every Thing by his Orders, and was no Way criminal. The Peers wanted to shift the Prosecution by a Bill of Banishment: But the Commons were inflexible; and the Lords ordered *Danby* to be taken into Custody, who surrendered for fear of being attainted, and was committed to the Tower on the 23d of *April*. He had more to answer for than the late Earl of *Clarendon*; had as many Enemies, and was as violently pursued: Yet he had the Fortitude to stand his Trial, instead of flying Abroad, as that virtuous Chancellor had done, to avoid the popular Fury. The Commons gained two principal Points in this Affair: The one was, that Impeachments made by them in one Parliament, continue from Session to Session, and from Parliament to Parliament, notwithstanding Prorogations or Dissolutions: The other was, that in Cases of Impeachment upon special Matter shewn, if the Modesty of the Party impeached diverts him not to withdraw, the Lords admitted that of Right they ordered him to withdraw, and that afterwards he must be committed.

THE Commons voted 206,462*l.* for dismissing the Army: But they wanted to come at the Secrets of the King, in the Prosecution of *Danby*; and all Countenance was given to the Plot-discoverers. The King shewed more Concern for the imprisoned Treasurer, than he had done twelve Years before for the banished Chancellor; because *Danby* could make no Defence for himself without divulging the Secrets of the King. In this State of Perplexity, Sir *William Temple* advised his Majesty to make such an Alteration in his Council, as might strengthen him with new Friends, and weaken the Interest of the Commons. The King honoured *Temple* with all his Confidence, and pursued the Advice of a Man, whose Philosophy he found to be above the Temptation of Greatness. A new Council was established, consisting of thirty Members; Fifteen of whom were chief Officers of State; ten were taken out of the Nobility, and five out of the Commons; who altogether

possessed, in Land and Offices, about 300,000*l.* a Year, A. D. 1679. which was thought a sufficient Ballance to the whole Property enjoyed by the House of Commons. The Earl of *Shaftesbury* was President: But the Direction of Affairs was chiefly committed to the Earl of *Essex*, who was made Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord Viscount *Halifax*, and Sir *William Temple*.

THE Commons exerted themselves on several popular Occasions, and were even countenanced by *Shaftesbury* in their Proceedings, particularly against *Danby*. The King endeavoured to support the Validity of his Pardon, as it privately passed the Seal under the Royal Hand; which indemnified the Chancellor: But the Commons voted, "that whoever should presume, without their Leave, to maintain before the House of Peers, the Validity of that Pardon, should be accounted a Betrayer of the Liberties of the Commons of *England*." The Speaker, with the whole House, went up to the Bar of the House of Peers, and demanded Judgment against the Earl of *Danby*, who resolved to adhere to the Plea of his Pardon, 'till the Commons voted it invalid. They not only objected against the Rights of the Bishops to sit in Cases of Blood; but demanded that they should withdraw before the Validity of the Pardon was discussed. This occasioned great Controversies within Doors and without: For the Lords maintained, the Bishops had a Right to vote; the King encouraged the Prelates to assert that Right, and the Clergy were warm in its Vindication: But these Disputes subsided, and others more material succeeded. The King and Parliament came to Extremities: Dissolution followed Dissolution, through the Remainder of his Reign: And, in 1684, the Earl of *Danby* was admitted to Bail by the Judges; which procured his Release from the Tower, and put an End to his Prosecution.

THE City of *London*, and the Kingdom in general, expressed the highest Satisfaction at the new Change in the Ministry: But the House of Commons yet doubted the Sincerity of the King; and were so desirous of guarding the Kingdom against Popery, that they seemed determined

A. D. 1679. determined to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Throne, after he had secluded himself by a voluntary Banishment. Popery was still the National Bugbear; and the Commons were alarmed by an Information of a fresh Design of the Papists to burn *London* a second Time; which took rise from a House that was burnt in *Fetter-Lane*, by the Means of *Stubbs*, a Papist. An Address was presented to the King against the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the last of the *Cabal*: But his Majesty was for skreening him; though he knew that Nobleman had occasioned great Discontent in *Scotland*.

THE King had no legitimate Children; and the Duke of *York* was presumptive Heir to the Crown; though he was an avowed, and biggotted Papist. *Shaftesbury*, and his Dependents, had flattered *James Scot*, Duke of *Monmouth*, with the Hopes of ascending the Throne. That Nobleman was the King's eldest natural Son, by Lady *Walters*, and was now in the Twenty-eighth Year of his Age. He had a graceful Person, adorned with all those Qualities which captivate the Affections of the Populace: His Valour had been eminently distinguished in *Flanders*; and his Generosity, with his affable Address, rendered him the Idol of the People. The King was remarkably fond of *Monmouth*, and was so much pleased at his Popularity, that *Shaftesbury* propagated a Story of a private Contract of Marriage between his Majesty and Mrs. *Walters*: But the King contradicted that Report in a full Council; and said, as well as he loved *Monmouth*, he had rather see him hanged, than legitimated. *Shaftesbury* had too much the Ascendancy over the Duke, which in the End occasioned his Destruction. But, though the Commons knew the King had declared the Illegitimacy of *Monmouth*, they voted "that the Duke of *York*'s being a Papist, had given the greatest Encouragement to the Conspiracies against the King, and the Protestant Religion."

THE King apprehended this Vote would be followed by a Bill of Exclusion; and, on the 30th of *April*, came to the House to offer any Limitations that could preserve the Succession. The large Concessions of the King were
rejected

rejected by the Commons, who thought that no Laws A. D. could be binding, when the Interests of the Prince and ^{1679.} People were diametrically opposite, which could not fail to happen in the Reign of a Popish Successor. This was the most material Transaction that occurred in this long Reign, wherein such various and interesting Matters arose. The Protestant Religion was now endangered by a Popish Successor in *England*, much in the same Manner as the Catholic Religion had been endangered in *France* upon the Death of *Henry* the Third in 1589 *; nor could *Henry* the Fourth obtain the Crown till he renounced the Protestant Religion: But, in 1688, *James* the Second quitted three Kingdoms for the Sake of preserving the Catholic Faith; which made the Archbishop of *Rheims* say aloud in his hearing, "There's a Simpleton, who has thrown away three Kingdoms for a Mass!"

ON the 15th of *May*, the Exclusion-Bill was introduced into the House of Commons; for "disabling *James* Duke of *York*, *Albany*, and *Ulster*, from inheriting the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*." By this Bill, the Duke was to be banished, as well as excluded: The Crown was to dissolve to the next Person in Succession: All the Acts of Royalty which the Duke was to perform were to be deemed Treason: And all Persons who supported his Title were to be punished as Traitors. The Duke of *Northumberland*, in the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, was in Hopes of having the two Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* excluded from the Succession; but that Attempt was fatal to himself and his Family, as it was formed only for the Sake of Ambition. When Queen *Elizabeth* was upon the Throne, the Church of *Rome* adopted the Maxim, "that no Protestant was worthy or capable of enjoying the Crown of *England*." The Protestants had now the same Objection against the Papists; especially as it was legislatively determined, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Parliament had the Power of limiting the Succession of the Crown. The Commons who brought in the *Bill of Exclusion*, could not have its Fate determined in this Parliament; and it was vehemently

* See Rolt's *History of France*, p. 206.

A. D. 1679. mently renewed in the next ; when it was rejected by the Lords. But what the Commons wanted now to throw upon the Duke, he threw upon himself when he became King ; and the Parliament unanimously concurred in limiting the Succession, so as to preserve the *Constitution* that had been violently invaded, and secure the Protestant Religion that had been deeply wounded.

THE Commons extended their Views to Dangers of a more private Nature. They committed Mr. *Charles Bertie* to the Custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, for his Contempt in refusing to give satisfactory Answers about the Application of 20,000 *l.* a Year, that had been intrusted to his Care for *secret Service* Money. They brought in a Bill for excluding Placemen and Pensioners from Seats in Parliament. They also voted the Standing-Army, and even the King's Guards, to be illegal. But, to compensate for the Faction and Violence, into which they had been led by their Prejudices, they got the ever-memorable *Habeas Corpus* Act to be passed into a Law ; which crowned the Security of the Subject, by ratifying one of the most essential Parts of *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*.

THE *Habeas Corpus* Bill had its first Rise in 1674 ; when it was calculated to set Bounds to the arbitrary Proceedings of Ministers, and preserve those who fell under their Displeasure from being sent into Banishment, or otherwise imprisoned, without Cause, Measure, or Relief. By this Act the Liberty of the Subject was no more to be endangered by the Authority of the Crown : For it provides, *That* every Prisoner, except in Cases of Felony and Treason, should, by Virtue of a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, be carried before the Court or Judge, by whom the Writ was granted ; before whom the true Causes of Detainer should be certified : *That* a true Copy of the Warrant should be granted : *That* every Prisoner should be indicted the first Term after his Commitment, and brought to Trial in the subsequent Term : *That* no Person should be recommitted for the same Offence : *That* no Judge should refuse any Prisoner their *Habeas Corpus* : And *That* no Subject should be liable to illegal Imprisonments beyond the Seas.

Seas. Such a Bulwark for personal Security, against the A. D. Arm of Power, was absolutely necessary in a free Govern- 1679. ment; and the Blessings it produces are unknown in other Countries, whose Inhabitants admire and envy the Happiness of the *British Constitution*. But this just Extension of Liberty, has been contracted on some particular Occasions; and the *Habeas Corpus* Act temporarily suspended, when the Tranquility of the State has been shook by the Violence of Rebellion.

THE Disputes between the two Houses about the Earl of *Danby*; and the Vehemence of the Exclusionists, occasioned the Dissolution of the Parliament. The King came suddenly to the House, on the 27th of *May*, and prorogued the Parliament to the 14th of *August*. It was dissolved on the 10th of *July*; and a new one ordered to be chosen; to the great Joy of the Ministers, and Mortification of the Exclusionists: For the new Parliament was not assembled till the 17th of *October*; nor could it be properly said to sit till above a Year after its Meeting.

THE Inconveniencies of a disputed Succession attached the Old Royalists as firm as ever to the King: While the Clergy were taught to believe, that the Church was now in as much Danger from the Sectarists as in 1641. The King himself was beloved by the People; and their Affection for him was manifested, by the Concern they shewed, when he was now seized with a Fever at *Wind-
sor*. His Ministers advised him to send for the Duke of *York*; who arrived in *September*, and found his Brother recovered: But prevailed on him to disgrace the Duke of *Monmouth*, and send him abroad, for fear of his great Popularity, and dangerous Designs at Home.

THE Duke of *York* was permitted to retire into *Scotland*, which had been brought to a State of Tranquility by *Monmouth*, who returned to *England* without Permission; where he increased his Popularity by a Kind of Progress through several Parts of the Kingdom. *Essex*, *Halifax*, and *Temple*, withdrew from the Cabinet; where *Hyde*, *Sunderland*, and *Godolphin* presided. *Shaftesbury* was removed; and Lord *Russel* retired: But the Election for new Members was still against the Court, which occasi-

A. D. 1679. ordered the King to prorogue the Parliament as soon as it met; and that Prorogation was continued till the 21st of October 1680.

DURING this Recess of Parliament, one *Dangerfield*, a daring and profligate Man, pretended to discover a new Conspiracy, which was known by the Name of the *Meal-Tub Plot*. He was encouraged by the Credulity of the Nation, and the Encouragement given to *Oates*: But this Plot was of little Signification; for he managed it so lamely, that he was at a Loss, whether he should fix it on the Presbyterians, or the Papists. The Countess of *Powis* was thought to have assisted in this sham Plot in Favour of the Papists: But the Grand Jury would not find a Bill against her Ladyship: And *Roger Palmer*, Earl of *Casilemain*, a Papist, and Husband to the King's Mistress, *Barbara Villiers*, Dutches of *Cleveland*, was brought to his Trial, and acquitted, the Year following; though he was accused, by *Oates* and *Dangerfield*, of an Intention to assassinate the King.

WHILE the People of *England* were alarmed with the *Popish Plot*, the Covenanters of *Scotland* were treated with such Severity under the Administration of *Lauderdale*, that they were almost ripe for another Insurrection. A Company of them, on the 3d of *May*, way-laid Archbishop *Sharp* on the Road to *St. Andrews*, dragged him out of his Coach, and massacred him with as much Barbarity, as *Becket* *, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was murdered in his own Cathedral. An Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was hanged at *Stirling* in 1569, for his Attachment to *Mary Queen of Scots*: But *Sharp* was assassinated for his Apostacy to the Kirk, and his Rigour against Conventicles. This exasperated the Government; and the Persecution was redoubled against the Fanatics, before the Assassins were brought to Justice. The Covenanters assembled in numerous Bodies, and published a Declaration against Prelacy; which was followed by Proclamations against Popery. They were headed by the younger Son of Sir *Thomas Hamilton*; who *Burnet* calls a lively hopeful young Man, but a crack-brained Enthusiast; and yet he was Nephew to that Bishop. The
Rebels

* See Vol. I. p. 219.

Rebels defeated a Party of Troops, commanded by Cap-^{A. D.}tain *Graham*, afterwards Viscount *Dundee*: After which ^{1679.} they took Possession of *Glasgow*; though they were only 4 or 500 Men. The Council of *Edinburgh* sent the Earl of *Linlithgow* against them, with 1000 Foot, and 400 Horse: But he was afraid to attack an undisciplined Rabble; and said they were augmented to 8000, though they never exceeded 4000. The Rebels were now so formidable, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent against them, with some additional Troops, and a large Body of the Country Militia; who defeated the Rebels, on the 22d of *June*, at *Bothwell-Bridge*, between *Hamilton* and *Glasgow*. The Rebels made no more Resistance at *Bothwell-Bridge*, than they had done at *Pentland-Hill* * in 1666. Seven hundred were killed, and 1200 taken Prisoners; who were treated with great Humanity, and every Man was dismissed who promised to live peaceably under the Government. About 300 refused the Offer of Clemency, and were transported for *Barbadoes*; but perished in the Voyage: And two of their Clergy were hanged: After which, the People were used with more Lenity; an Act of Indemnity was passed; and if Conventicles were not allowed, they were connived at, by the Government. This rendered *Monmouth* as popular in *Scotland* as he was in *England*: He was married to a *Scotch* Lady, the Dutches of *Buccleugh*; and the Covenanters acknowledged that he was the Preserver of their Nation.

THE King, on his Restoration, endeavoured to abolish A. D. those Distinctions of Parties, which began in the Reign ^{1680.} of his Grandfather, and were increased under that of his Father †: But he now found it necessary to court the old *Cavalier-Party*, or Royalists, who had been such Sticklers for hereditary Right, against the *State Puritans*, or Parliamentarians, who asserted the National Liberties. The Voice of the Nation was more against Popery at this Time, than it had ever been since the Accession of the *Stewart* Family to the Throne; and with more Reason:

L 2

son :

* See this Vol. p. 115. † See Ditto, from p. 43 to 48.

A. D 1680. son: But the Spirit of Enthusiasm was evaporated; and the Rage of Party was more predominant than the Zeal of Religion. The Courtiers retained their old Appellation; and the new Patriots stiled themselves the *Honest Party*: But both the *Court* and *Country* Parties, were now to receive a more remarkable and permanent Denomination.

WHEN the King prorogued the new Parliament, many Libels were published against the Court, and Petitions flowed from all Parts for the Sitting of the Parliament, on the 26th of *January*. His Majesty published several Proclamations against these Petitions, and treated those who presented them with Contempt: For, like *James* the First, and *Charles* the First, he asserted this to be an essential Part of his Prerogative. However, he met the Parliament on the Day desired, and acquainted them it was necessary to have a long Interval for the Preservation of the National Tranquility: Upon which Presumption, he procrastinated their Meeting for Business by repeated Prorogations.

As the *Country Party* had petitioned for a Parliament, they were called *Petitioners*; and the Prorogation was followed by Addresses from the *Court Party*, in Abhorrence of those Petitions, on which Account this Party were called the *Abhorrrers*. The Animosity of the two Parties was inflamed, till they reciprocally bestowed Terms of Reproach upon each other. The Names of *Roundheads* and *Cavaliers*, were absorbed in those of *Whig* and *Tory*: For the Petitioners called the Abhorrrers *Tories*; and the Abhorrrers called the Petitioners *Whigs*. The Name of *Tories* was a Title given to the Popish Banditti in *Ireland*, who plundered the Country, and were afterwards called Rapparees. The Name of *Whig*, or *Scur-Milk*, had been formerly applied to the *Scotch* Presbyterians, and rigid Covenanters: But *Burnet* implies, that the Name of *Whigs* was first given to the *Scotch* Rebels, who were defeated at *Pentland-Hill* in 1666. And it may not be impertinent to make a new Observation, that there is an Island, near the Coast of *Donnagol*, or *Lycannel*, in *Ireland*, called *Tory Island*: As also that the ancient Pirates of *Wiburg* in *Jutland*, were called *Whigs*,
Charles

Charles the First called in the *Irish* Papists to his Assistance : And the Parliament applied to the *Scotch* Presbyterians : Which was remembered by the present Parties, and gave Rise to these new Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, that divided the Country for many Years, and are yet far from being eradicated ; though the Revolutions of Parties, like the Transmigrations of *Achelous*, have so much inverted the Nature of Things, that the original Meaning of these Party Names are generally mistaken, if not entirely forgot. Their Essence has been tranmuted by the Art of political Chymists ; and State-Magic has deceived the real Senses.

It is proper to understand what were the original Views of these Parties ; which were at first calculated only for domestic Matters ; but afterwards extended to the general Interest of all the *European* Powers. The *Whig* Party was formed in 1675, upon a limited Interpretation of the *Nonresistance Acts*, which they understood with such Restrictions, as rendered them consistent with the *ancient Constitution*, in their Opinion. The *Tory* Party was formed upon Principles that esteemed *all Resistance* unlawful, and *hereditary Right* indefeasible. Therefore, they were now chiefly distinguished by their Adherence, or Opposition, to a Popish Successor : In which Respect, the Tories were at present the Majority in Parliament : But the Whigs had the greatest Interest with the Country. The Tories were averse to all Toleration in Religion ; and the Whigs were declared Enemies to every Degree of Persecution : This made the former be considered as Favourers of Popery ; and the latter be represented as Presbyterians : But there was no real Foundation for either of these Reports ; which were only artificial Recriminations, unsupported by the Solidity of Facts. The Tories kept their Ground, and their Principles, till *James* the Second obliged them to unite with the Whigs, and pave the Way for the Revolution, to preserve the Nation from Popery and arbitrary Power. When this Danger was over, the Tories returned to their old Principle of hereditary Right : But the Whigs had the Majority in Parliament,

1690. A D till the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, when the Tories came into the Administration, and ended a glorious War, by an inglorious Peace. If the Tories were for long Peace, and stale Prerogative; the Whigs were for long Wars, and new Systems of Revenue: By which Progression, *Bolingbroke* implies, the whole *Constitution*, and even the Character of the Nation, has been altered.

THE *Whigs* were directed by the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, who increased the Popularity of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and fought the Destruction of the Duke of *York*, who had been recalled to Court by the King. The Credit of the Popish Plot was much abated: But all the Kingdom knew that the Duke of *York* was a Papist; though it was dangerous to make such an Assertion. *Shaftesbury* surmounted that Danger, and, at the Head of several Persons of Distinction, presented a Bill in Form, at the Bar of the King's Bench, for indicting the Duke of *York* as a Popish Recusant. The Chief Justice suddenly dismissed the Jury while they were deliberating on this extraordinary Presentment; and the King ordered his Brother to return to *Scotland* when he found himself obliged to meet the Parliament. This Conduct of the Chief Justice was afterwards censured by the House of Commons, who said it was extrajudicial: For that the two great Pillars of the Government were Parliaments, and Juries, which gave them the Title of free-born *Englishmen*: And they voted, that the Discharge of a Grand Jury in that Manner was arbitrary, illegal, and destructive to public Justice.

AFTER so long an Interval, the King met his fourth Parliament on the 21st of *October*; when he acquainted both Houses, that he had perfected an Alliance with *Spain*; and that he wanted their Assistance to preserve *Tangier*. He assured them, he was ready to give them the fullest Satisfaction for the Security of the Protestant Religion; consistent with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its legal Course of Descent: And recommended Unanimity, as the only Thing that could raise the Kingdom to its ancient Strength and Vigour.

The

The Commons elected *William Williams*, Esq; of *Gray's A. D.* Inn, their Speaker; and the *Whigs* immediately shewed ^{1680.} they had the Majority against the Court. They expelled some of their Members for having been *Abhorrrers*: Resumed the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, by encouraging new Informers; and then renewed the Bill of Exclusion.

THE great Share which the Duke of *York* was supposed to have had, very early, in a Design to overturn the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom; and the mighty Hopes which the near Prospect of a Popish Successor gave the *Roman Catholics*, of bringing about their grand Project of rooting out the Northern Herefy, were the Reasons why a great Part of both Houses of Parliament had Recourse to a Bill of Exclusion against the Duke, as the only effectual Means they could think on, in that Juncture, to prevent their intended Ruin. The Duke, in the Time of his Banishment, and after the Restoration, acquired the Reputation of being brave, and skilled in the Art of War: for he had commanded the *Spanish Horse* in *Flanders*, and the *English Fleet* on the Ocean. From a Prince thus possessed of a warlike Character, and thus devoted to the See of *Rome*, it was no Wonder the *Roman Catholics* expected, and the Protestants feared, some extraordinary Change in *England*, if ever he ascended the Throne: Therefore, it was the Interest of those who were zealous for the Protestant Religion, to remove the Danger, by excluding the Duke from the Succession. The Parliament had in their View the Princess of *Orange*, in the Bill of Exclusion; intending that her Highness and the Prince her Husband should fill the Throne upon the Death of their Uncle. The King had received an Offer of a considerable Sum of Money, if he would consent to the Bill of Exclusion, and accept of an Act of Parliament in his own Favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*, by which he should have a Power invested in him, to dispose of the Crown at his Death, under such Restrictions and Limitations, as should be agreed on: But his Majesty resisted these Temptations, and faithfully ad-

A. D. 1680. hered to the Promise he had made his Brother ; in which he acted more resolutely and consistently than in any other Action of his Life. The Duchess of *Portsmouth* declared openly for the Exclusion ; in which she was joined by *Sunderland* and *Goldolphin*, who had so far convinced the Prince of *Orange*, that it should not be to his Prejudice, that the States General solicited the King to deprive his Brother of the Succession : But neither his Fondness for a favourite Mistress, nor his Attachment to the new Ministry, could make the King depart from that fraternal Love which he always professed for the Duke. He was spirited to this Resolution by Lord *Halsifax* ; and was positively fixed against the Exclusion ; though he was willing to grant any Limitations for his Brother, who as positively refused to accept them.

On the 26th of *October*, this grand Affair was opened in the House of Commons, by the Lord *Russel*, who shewed the Dangers of Popery, and the Necessity of preventing a Popish successor. Great Debates happened upon this Occasion : But it was the 4th of *November* before the Exclusion Bill was read for the first Time ; which was the same as the former ; with an Addition, that the Act should be given in Charge at every Assizes, and general Sessions, as also to be openly read in all Churches and Chapels twice a Year, during the Life of the Duke of *York*. The Bill was principally defended by Lord *Russel*, Sir *William Jones*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *William Pulteney*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Colonel *Sydney*, Colonel *Silas Titus*, Mr. *Treby*, Mr. *Hamden*, Mr. *Montague*, Mr. *Boscawen*, and Mr. *Trenchard*. It was chiefly opposed by Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Sir *John Ernley*, Sir *Richard Graham*, Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Seymour*, Mr. *Finch*, and Mr. *Garraway*. The Spirit and Elocution of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* were shewn in the Course of these Debates : And, to say the Truth, from this Time forwards, a noble Vein of Patriotism was always to be seen in the *British* Senate, which was graced with Orators inferior to none of Antiquity : For if *Greece* has boasted her *Demosthenes*, and
Rome

Rome her *Cicero*, England, in our Times, has produced A. D.
her *Granville*. 1680.

THE Exclusionists asserted, that the Constitution, and the whole Fabric of Government would be destroyed, if a Popish Successor succeeded to the Crown. They demonstrated the Legality, the Expedience, and the Necessity, of excluding the Duke of *York*. They said, it might be read in Scripture, "That one Man ought to die for a Nation; but not that three Nations should die for one Man." They proved, that the Parliament had frequently disposed of the Crown in a different Manner from the usual Custom: That *Edward* the Third was acknowledged King while his Father was living; and *Henry* the Fourth before the Death of *Richard* the Second. The Parliament granted the Crown to *Henry* the Fourth, and settled the Succession in his Posterity, contrary to the known and natural Right of the Earl of *March*, who was next Heir to *Richard* the Second. They settled the Crown upon the Duke of *York* and his Posterity, after the Death of *Henry* the Sixth, though *Henry* had a legitimate Son living. After the House of *York* had enjoyed the Crown for three successive Reigns, and had still a numerous Issue, the Parliament transferred the Crown to *Henry* the Seventh, and his Posterity. They gave a Power to *Henry* the Eighth to name his Successors, and settle the Succession as he should think proper. And on the Succession of *James* the First to the Crown, the Parliament made an Act to confirm his Right, that they might not lose their own. They urged, that a Popish Prince, and Protestant Subjects, were real Antipathies; and that such Subjects could never confide in the Promises of such a Prince, who must behave himself like a Tyrant, and govern them like Slaves.

THE *Yorkists* replied, that a Violation of hereditary Right would be attended with unparalleled Inconveniences, and be productive of another Civil War. They asked, if the Duke had a Son, after the Death of the King; must that Son, without any Default of his own, forfeit his Title; or must the Princess of *Orange* descend from the Throne to give Place to the lawful Successor?

A. D. 1680. THE Exclusionists carried their Point in the House of Commons, and the Bill was passed on the 11th of November: But it was not carried up to the Lords till the 15th, when it was delivered by Lord *Ruffel*. The Lords gave the Bill a different Fate from what it had received by the Commons, and it was committed only by a Majority of two Votes; after which they entered into a long and spirited Debate. *Shaftesbury*, *Sunderland*, and *Essex*, were at the Head of those who argued for the Bill: But they were defeated by the superior Talents of *Halifax*, who totally eclipsed his Uncle *Shaftesbury*, in the Presence of the King and Commons, who were present at this important Debate; which ended in rejecting the famous *Exclusion* Bill by the Peers, without so much as coming to a Conference with the Commons. The King took *Halifax* to his Bosom: But the Commons were so much exasperated at their Defeat, that they addressed his Majesty to remove that Nobleman from his Councils and Presence for ever: Though they well knew the King would never have given the Royal Assent, if the Bill had passed in the House of Lords. But *Shaftesbury* persevered in his Resentment against the Duke of *York*, till he brought on the Ruin of himself, and many of his Party.

THE King had demanded a Supply for the Relief of *Tangier*, which was besieged by the Emperor of *Morecco*; and was considered as a Place of great Importance for the Security of the Trade to the *Levant*. But the Commons presented to the King a long Address, or rather such another Kind of Remonstrance as ushered in the late Civil Wars. They exclaimed against Popery in this Address; and *Stafford* was soon after beheaded. They prepared some popular Bills; and refused any Supply till the Exclusion Bill was passed. They addressed his Majesty to dismiss the Marquis of *Worcester*; the Earls of *Clarendon*, *Feverham*, and *Halifax*; Mr. *Hyde*, and Mr. *Seymour*, from his Person and Councils. They impeached the Lord Chief Justice *Scroggs*, and two Judges, for dismissing the grand Jury. They proceeded to introduce an Association for the Security of the Crown,
and

and the Protestant Religion ; in the same Manner as had A. D. been done in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. They ^{1680.} were for skreening the Presbyterians from any Kind of Persecution : And were so refractory to the Measures proposed by the King, that he dissolved the Parliament on the 18th of *January* ; and summoned another to meet at *Oxford* the 21st of *March* ; because he was offended with the City of *London*, for its Attachment to the Exclusionists.

It was in this Session, that the House of Commons resolved, for the first Time, that their Votes should be printed ; being first perused and signed by the Speaker, who was to appoint Persons to print the same.

THE Earl of *Conway* was made Secretary of State, in A. D. the Room of the Earl of *Sunderland*, whose Name was ^{1681.} struck out of the Council-Book ; together with the Names of the Earls of *Essex*, and *Salisbury*, and Sir *William Temple*. The City of *London* elected their old Members ; and the Example was followed by most Places in the Kingdom ; so that the King was going to meet the same Parliament he had dissolved. *Shaftesbury* wanted the Parliament to be assembled at *Westminster*, and got fifteen Lords to present a Petition to the King for that Purpose. They observed, from History and Records, how unfortunate many Assemblies had been, when called at a Place remote from the capital City ; as particularly the Congress at *Clarendon*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Second ; three several Parliaments at *Oxford*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Third ; and at *Conventry* in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth ; with divers others which proved very fatal to those Kings, and were followed with great Mischief upon the whole Kingdom. They said, neither Lords, nor Commons, could be in Safety at *Oxford* ; because they would be under the Power of Guards and Soldiers. The King returned no Answer ; but contented himself with frowning upon the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the other Lords, who presented this Address. Libels swarmed with Impunity ; and the fifth Parliament met at *Oxford*, on the 21st of *March*, in such a tumultuous Manner, that they looked, says

A. D. *Eckard*, more like the Rendezvous of a Country Militia, than the regular Meeting of a Parliament: Or, as another Writer says, more like a *Polish* Diet, than an *English* Senate: For the King was surrounded by his Guards; and the Members were attended with armed Retinues. Historians seem to forget the Statute of the 7th of *Edward* the Second, which declares, "That at the beginning of every Parliament all Arms are forbid to be borne, in *London*, *Westminster*, or the Suburbs."

THE Gallery at the public Schools was prepared for the Lords; and the Convocation-House for the Commons. NO POPERY! NO SLAVERY! was the Cry of the Parliament; and the King opened the Session, by complaining of the unwarrantable Proceedings of the last House of Commons; yet said, that no Irregularities of Parliaments, should make him out of Love with them. He told them, what he had so often declared touching the Succession, he could not depart from: But that he should be ready to hearken to any Expedient, by which Religion might be preserved, and the Monarchy not destroyed.

THE Commons re-elected Mr. *Williams*, the Recorder of *Chester*, for their Speaker. They again voted, that their Votes should be printed; because it was necessary to inform the People of their Actions, and to prevent the Dispersion of false Copies: Though Secretary *Jenkins* said, it was a Sort of an Appeal to the People. Mr. *Bescarven* replied, this Printing of the Votes would be like plain *Englishmen*, who were not ashamed of what they did. But the real Intention was to inform the People of the Necessity of the Bill of Exclusion, which was immediately renewed.

THE Duke of *York*, and his Party, were more afraid of strict Limitations, than of an absolute Exclusion; as the People might think the one necessary, and the other arbitrary. However, such Limitations were proposed, which left the Duke only the bare Title of King, circumscribed with less Authority than a nominal Sovereign in *Poland*: For he was to retain the regal Title, and live in Exile; while the Kingdom was governed by the

next

next Heir as Regent, during his Life. Yet all Limitations were rejected by the Commons; and Lord *Russel* A. D. 1681. declared, that nothing but an Exclusion could secure them from Popery. Mr. *Gower* hinted, that when the Duke's Creatures had got a Bank of Money for a Popish Successor, then would be the Time to take away the King. But, while they were warm in Debate, the King suddenly dissolved the Parliament, on the 28th of *March*; and never afterwards called another. His Majesty immediately took Coach for *Windsor*; and *Oxford* was left to its former State of Tranquility.

MR. *Fitz-barris*, an *Irish* Catholic, pretended to be concerned in a Libel against the Court; which was to be attributed to the Exclusionists. He also turned Evidence for corroborating the Popish Plot; on which the Court threatened him with Destruction, and sent him to the Tower. The Commons interfered by sending up an Impeachment against him to the Lords, who rejected it; and the Commons voted this Refusal to be a Denial of Justice. When the Parliament was dissolved, *Fitz-barris* was prosecuted by the Court, and brought in guilty of Treason by the Jury: For which he was executed on the 9th of *June*, together with *Oliver Plunket*, the Popish Titular Primate of *Ireland*; who suffered, on a very doubtful Charge, for levying an Insurrection in that Kingdom, at the Instigation of *France*.

THE Court-Party were now inventing to load the Exclusionists with a *Protestant Plot*; and had even suborned those Witnesses which had been produced to prove the Popish Plot. The Whigs had been charged with no less than fifteen *Sham-Plots* by the ministerial Agents; and the King was now determined to make them feel the terrible Effects of his Vengeance. He began to exert an arbitrary Power; and to forget that Mercy was one of the Attributes of his Prerogative. The Tories had invested him with a Power superior to any Opposition that could be made by the Whigs: the Danger of Presbyterianism was set up against the Abhorrence of Popery; and the Tories united the Interest of Religion with

A. D. with that of the Monarchy, till the former was brought
 1681. to the Verge of Destruction by the latter.

THE King published a Declaration, containing his Reasons for dissolving the two last Parliaments: *Alger. non Sydney*, and some other eminent Gentlemen, published Pamphlets in Vindication of those Parliaments. But many flattering Addresses were sent from several Parts of the Kingdom, approving the Conduct of the King; so that the Tide of Popularity seemed to be turned; though such Addresses were far from expressing the general Sense of the Nation.

THE Name of Protestant became now a Term of Reproach among the Courtiers; and, on the 2d of July, the Earl of *Shaftesbury* was sent to the Tower, with *Colledge*, a London Joiner, and three other inferior Persons, who had been strenuously officious to the *Whigs*. *Shaftesbury* was called the *Protestant Earl*; and *Colledge* the *Protestant Joiner*, who was the first Victim which the Court devoted to their Revenge.

COLLEDGE was indicted for High Treason; but the Grand Jury of *London* threw the Bill out with an *Ignoramus*; which sufficiently expressed their Dissatisfaction at the Evidence. The Prisoner was then removed to *Oxford*, where the Treason was said to have been committed; and he was found guilty on the Evidence of *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, who had been the Witnesses on the Trial against Lord *Stafford*. *Colledge* died for his reputed Crime; which was, being concerned in a Conspiracy to seize the King at *Oxford*, and oblige him to make such Concessions as were required: But he behaved himself with great Fortitude, and denied the Crime with his last Breath; which made him justly considered as a persecuted Man, who fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of Party.

THE Earl of *Shaftesbury*, on the 24th of November, was next accused before the Grand Jury of *London*, by those Witnesses who had gone through all the dirty Work of the *Papish Plot*; and now were bribed to turn against their old Patron, to pave the Way to a new *Protestant Plot*. They went so deep in their Evidence to prove that

that the Earl was concerned in a Plot against the King, A. D. that no Credit could be given to their Testimony; and ^{1681.} the Indictment was rejected, to the great Joy of the Populace.

IN *Scotland*, the Duke of *York* was High Commissioner, and opened the Parliament on the 28th of *July*; when he had such Interest, as to procure an Act, that made it High Treason, either by Word, or Writing, to endeavour to suspend, or alter, the Right of Succession. A new Test was made for introducing the Popish Religion; which reduced *Scotland* almost to a State of Slavery; but many Persons refused to take the Test, and particularly *Archibald Campbel* Earl of *Argyle*, Son to the late Marquis who was beheaded in 1661. The Earl was imprisoned, and brought to a solemn Trial, for refusing the Oath: He was actually condemned to lose his Head for this new Kind of Treason, which was looked upon with Horror: But he happily escaped out of *Edinburgh* Castle, into *Holland*, while his Estates were confiscated, and his Arms reversed; more to the Infamy of his Persecutors, than to any Diminution of his own Honour, which he had maintained with unshaken Loyalty, even when his Father was at the Head of the Covenanters. The Escape of this Nobleman was attended with so many Acts of Tyranny and Cruelty in *Scotland*, that many hundreds were outlawed; and some thousands were intent on leaving their native Country, and seeking Protection in *America*.

IRELAND had been again put under the Administration of the Duke of *Ormond*, who increased the Revenue to 300,000 *l.* a Year; with which he supported 10,000 Soldiers, and a Militia of 20,000 Men; without oppressing the Papists, or disobliging the Protestants. He made the whole Kingdom happy: But was rendered unhappy himself by the Death of his glorious Son the Earl of *Offory*, who had distinguished himself as the politest Gentleman, and the bravest Soldier of his Age; which rendered him the most beloved and popular Man in *England*. He disappeared like the Meridian Sun, in
all

A. D. all its Lustre ; whose Beams are most refulgent, before
 1681. half its diurnal Course is expired.

A. D. THE Dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament occasioned
 1682. an Alteration in the Magistracy of *England* ; where the Whigs were to be suppressed, and the Presbyterians persecuted. The Clergy now made their Pulpits resound so much with the Doctrine of Passive-obedience and Non-resistance, that they exceeded what was done in the Reign of *Charles I.* and seemed to inculcate, that the Princes of the *Stewart* Family were as absolute as those of the *Ottoman* Line. The Bench supported the Pulpit ; and the King was sufficiently aggrandized by the Tories ; which served to introduce a Plot against the Protestants.

LORD *Halifax* was created a Marquis, and made Lord Privy Seal, on the Resignation of the Earl of *Anglesea* : But he maintained a Balance in the Council, and preserved a Kind of Neutrality between the Whigs and Tories, by heading a small Party, who were denominated *Trimmers*. An equitable Neutrality was almost impossible to be attained ; and the Whig Interest was supplanted even in the City of *London* ; where *Pilkington*, the Sheriff, was sued by the Duke of *York*, for laying, " He had burned the City, and was coming to cut " their Throats." He was ordered to pay the enormous Damages of 100,000 *l.* in Defiance of *Magna Charta* : And Sir *Patience Ward*, who had been Lord Mayor, and gave Evidence for the Sheriff, was sued for Perjury, and condemned to the Pillory.

THE Duke of *York* returned from *Scotland*, and continued the rest of this Reign in *England* ; where the King shewed him such Favour, that he almost invested him with the Power of Royalty ; and was principally directed by him in all the Rigour he afterwards exercised on his Enemies. The Earl of *Shaftesbury* had brought his Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* against Mr. *Craddock* for calling him a Traitor ; but his Lordship found himself deprived of the Protection of the City of *London*, and avoided the impending Storm by retreating to *Amsterdam*, where he died six Weeks after his Arrival. According

According to Bishop *Sprat*, this Nobleman had boasted, A. D. 1682. that he would walk the King leisurely out of his Dominions; and make the Duke of *York* as great a Vagabond upon the Earth as *Cain*. But he was obliged to seek the Protection of a Republic, to which, when he was Chancellor, he had applied that saying of *Cato*, *Delenda est Carthago*. He was a Man eminent for his Rank, Fortune, and Capacity; who sacrificed all Things to Ambition; so that he died without giving Grief to his Friends, or Joy to his Enemies.

THIS Year was also remarkable for the Deaths of Prince *Rupert*, who, in 1643, was created Duke of *Cumberland*; the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*. Several Promotions were made at Court: The Earl of *Sunderland* was restored to the Office of Secretary: Sir *Francis North* was made Lord-Keeper: *Ormond*, an *Irish* Duke, was promoted to the same Dignity in *England*; and other Degrees of Nobility were conferred on some eminent Persons.

THE Marquis of *Hallifax* in vain contended for sum-A. D. 1683. moning a new Parliament; in which he was opposed by the Duke of *York*, who pleased his Brother, by recommending his old Adherence to *France*; and the King gratified the Duke, by treating the Exclusionists with great Severity. The Citizens of *London* were to be punished for electing Sheriffs that were disagreeable to the Court; and a *Quo warranto* was brought by the King against the City; that is, an Enquiry into the Validity of their Charter. The Judges were Tools of State, and declared the Charter forfeited: Upon which, the City submitted to the King, who restored the Charter with such Limitations as deprived the Citizens of their principal Privileges. Many other Corporations suffered the same Fate; and considerable Sums were exacted for restoring their Charters; which was a violent Shock to the Constitution, and unable to be borne with Patience by those who were filled with the noble Sentiments of Liberty.

A PARTY of Male-contents meditated Plans of Resistance, ever since the Dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament; which gave Rise to the *Protestant Plot*, and occasioned

A. D.
1683.

occasioned some noble Blood to be shed by the Hands of the Executioner. The Duke of *Monmouth*; the Earl of *Shaftesbury* and *Effex*; Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*; Lord *Russel*; Colonel *Algernon Sydney*, and *John Hampden*, Esq; Grandson to the great Parliamentary Leader, were at the Head of a Conspiracy, to oppose the Succession of the Duke of *York* to the Crown. An Insurrection was intended in *London*, and *Bristol*; in *Cheshire*, and *Devonshire*: An Agreement was entered into with the *Scotch* Male-contents headed by the Earl of *Argyle*: And an inferior Sett of Conspirators frequently assembled under the Direction of Colonel *Rumsey*. It was the Love of Liberty, and a patriotic Regard for the Constitution of their Country, that occasioned *Monmouth*, and his Associates, to make Resistance against those oppressive Measures which raised the Court to such an exorbitant Height of Power, that no Privilege was safe, and no Property secure. When *Shaftesbury* timidly deserted his Party, *Russel* and *Sydney*, with equal Spirit to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, were looked upon, by the other Conspirators, as the two chief Supporters of dying Liberty. They acted on the Principles of virtuous Patriots, who were alarmed at seeing the Nation madly rushing into Slavery, and the People themselves contributing to assist the Court in undermining the very Ground upon which they stood. They saw, that if no Opposition was given to these frantic Endeavours, the Constitution would gradually moulder into Ruins: And, if an ineffectual Opposition was made, the Danger would be more precipitate, and the Effects more deplorable. *Shaftesbury* had been for seizing the *Tower*, by the Assistance of his brisk Party in *London*: But there was more of the incendiary, than of the Patriot, in his Scheme, which was rejected by *Monmouth*, who knew that a Rabble could not be depended upon against disciplined Troops. However, the Faction was still supported by *Monmouth*, *Effex*, *Sydney*, *Howard*, and *Hampden*, who composed the *Council of Six*, and were betrayed by their Agents.

THE inferior Faction, headed by *Rumsey*, had consulted among themselves how to assassinate the King, and

and his Brother, as they returned from *Newmarket*. A. D. *Rumbald*, a Malster, had a Farm called the *Rye-House*, ^{1683.} within two Miles of *Hoddesdon* in *Hertfordshire*; where it was agreed to intercept and destroy his Majesty: But this intended Assassination, commonly called the *Rye-House Plot*, was discovered by one of the Conspirators, and the King happily escaped the Danger. *Keiling* was one of these Conspirators, and discovered the Conspiracy to Secretary *Jenkins*, on the 12th of *June*: Upon which, a Proclamation was issued for seizing *Rumsey*, and eight others of the inferior Faction. *Rumsey* surrendered; and, on his Confession, a second Proclamation was issued for apprehending *James Duke of Monmouth*, *Ford Lord Grey*, *Sir Thomas Armstrong*, Knt. and *Robert Ferguson*. They escaped: But the other Lords were taken, and sent to the *Tower*, with some of the principal Gentlemen; who were betrayed by *Lord Howard*.

THUS the Conspirators found their own Mine was bursting on themselves; and Addressees came from all Parts to congratulate the King on the Discovery of this two-fold Conspiracy; though the very Courtiers could not tax the Exclusionists with a Design of assassinating the King. The *Tories* triumphed in imputing the Errors of a few to the whole Party of the *Whigs*; and the Prisoners were not suffered to languish long in Confinement: For *Walcot*, *Hone*, and *Rouse*, three of the *Rye-House* Conspirators, were soon convicted, and executed, on the Evidence of *Rumsey*, *Keiling*, *West*, and *Bourn*.

THIS was followed by the Trial of *William Lord Russel*; which came on, the 12th of *July*, at the *Old-Bailey*, before eight Judges, who refused to defer his Trial till the Afternoon. The Indictment against the noble Prisoner, was in Substance, "for conspiring the Death of the King, and intending to levy War by destroying the Guards." The Witnesses against him, were *Rumsey*, *Shephard*, and *Lord Howard*. The two former could prove nothing against the Prisoner within the Statutes of Treason; and he was convicted only upon the hear-say Evidence of *Howard*, who, in all
but

1683 A. D. but the Nobility of his Birth, was the Reverse of the illustrious and unhappy Prisoner; and was ever afterwards despised and abhorred for his Treachery to the Party, as well as for being accessory to this Injustice: Though, *Burnet* says, *Howard* swore positively they had no Design against the Person of the King. Lord *Russel* told the Jury, he hoped they would consider the Witnesses, that they swore to save their own Lives. He denied the whole Charge of Treason; and urged the Irregularity of the Prosecution, which artificially confounded the Statute of *Edward* the Third. For a farther Defence of his Lordship, there appeared for him the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Anglesey*, Lord *Cavendish*, Lord *Clifford*, Mr. *Edward Howard*, Doctor *Tillotson*, Doctor *Burnet*, and others, who all of them declared the Improbability that so worthy and virtuous a Man should be engaged in a Conspiracy to destroy the King; and some of them testified, that Lord *Howard* had declared, "He believed the Lord *Russel* innocent, and knew nothing against him." But the Destruction of this noble Prisoner was resolved; and, on the 14th of *July*, he received his Sentence of Condemnation; when his Deportment was as noble, as his Life had been innocent.

THIS illustrious Prisoner was the eldest Son of the Earl of *Bedford*; and his Lady was the Daughter and Heiress of the late good Earl of *Southampton*: But the King was inexorable to all the Applications made by the Father and the Wife. His Majesty even refused a Respite of six Weeks, on a Supposition, that the Crime of a Design to kill him, was fully proved upon Lord *Russel*: Which was very far from the Truth. His Lordship had been one of the warmest Opposers to the Duke of *York*, and had carried up the Exclusion-Bill to the House of Lords; which were Crimes not to be forgiven by the King and his Brother, who were actuated with a Passion of Revenge against the most amiable Man in the World. The King reminded Lord *Russel* of the Fate of Lord *Stafford*; and his Lordship submitted to his Sentence with all that Sweetness of

Com-

Composure which is prompted by Innocence, and confirmed by Philosophy. Lord *Carvendish* was as much the Friend of Lord *Russel*, as *Southampton* had been of *Effex* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and he gallantly offered to facilitate his Escape, at the Hazard of his own Life. The Duke of *Monmouth* also offered to surrender himself, if Lord *Russel* thought it would contribute to his Safety: But his Lordship said, "It would be no Advantage to him to have his Friends die with him." The 21st of *July* was fixed for his Execution; and the Scaffold was erected in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*. The Day before, his Lordship had a bleeding at the Nose; when he said pleasantly to Bishop *Burnet*, "I shall not now let Blood to divert this: That will be done Tomorrow." A little before the Sheriffs conducted him to the Scaffold, he wound up his Watch, with a Remark worthy of *Socrates*: "Now I have done with Time, and must think only of Eternity." And *Burnet*, who attended his Lordship, says, "His whole Behaviour looked like a Triumph over Death." He was conducted from the *Tower*, through all the principal Streets of the City, to the Place of Execution; which was probably done to terrify the mutinous Citizens at the unhappy Sight, and melancholy Fate, of the noblest Exclusionist. Every Heart was oppressed, and every Eye was overflowed, at the mournful Ceremony to the Time he ascended the Scaffold, where he was attended by Doctor *Burnet* and Doctor *Tillotson*. His Lordship protested, he had been always far from any Designs against the King's Life or Government: He prayed, that God would preserve both, and the Protestant Religion; as also that Protestants would not make Way for Popery by their Animosities. He was afraid of being interrupted on the Scaffold; and spoke little farther: But delivered a Paper to the Sheriff; in which he imputed his present Sufferings to the Part he acted in the Exclusion Matter; and said, Killing by Forms of Law was the worst Sort of Murder. He laid his Head on the Block, without the least Change in his Countenance; and it was cut off at two Strokes. This was
the

A. D.
1653.

A. D. the fatal and cruel End of that Lord who had the
 1683. greatest Property, and Popularity, of any Man in *Eng-
 land*: He left a numerous Family of Children, who
 were afterwards restored to their paternal Honours;
 And *John Duke of Bedford*, the Grandson of this Lord,
 publickly vindicated his Memory in the House of Peers,
 in 1744; when he nobly said, “ * His Grandfather
 was cut off by an unjust Prosecution; and his Father
 condemned for many Years to see himself deprived of
 the Rights of his Birth, which were at length restored
 to him by more equitable Judges.”

ON the same Day that Lord *Russel* was tried, the
 Earl of *Essex* was found in the *Tower* with his Throat
 cut; and the Coroner's Inquest brought in their Verdict
Self-Murder. The Council for the Crown laid great
 Stresses upon this Accident, at the Trial of Lord *Russel*;
 and it is thought to have had great Weight with the
 Jury, in their Belief of the Conspiracy; for the venal
 Tribe of Lawyers bellowed out, that *Essex* was consci-
 ous of his Treachery to the King, and had anticipated
 Justice on himself. But it remains to this Day a con-
 troverted Point, whether Lord *Essex* really laid violent
 Hands on himself, or was dispatched by hired Assassins.
 The King, and the Duke of *York*, were in the *Tower* that
 very Morning, where they had not been for twelve Years
 before; which made the Exclusionists assert, the Earl
 was murdered by the Papists. This was the general
 Opinion at that Time: And his Son believed it long
 afterwards; notwithstanding the King said, “ My Lord
 of *Essex* needed not to have despaired of Mercy, for I
 owe him a Life.” His Majesty meant that Debt as
 due to the Memory of the great Lord *Capel*, who was
 Father to the Earl of *Essex*, and was sacrificed by the
 Republicans in 1649, for his Adherence to *Charles* the
 First. Yet it may be decently questioned, whether the
 Heir of Lord *Capel* would have been shewn more Fa-
 vour than the Heiress of the Earl of *Southampton*:
 Therefore, the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, was as liable
 to

* See Rolt's *History of the War*, Vol. III. p. 120.

to as many Disputes as that of Sir *Thomas Overbury* in A. D. 1613, or that of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* in 1678. *Essex* 1683. was eminent both for Virtues and Abilities: Nor was it likely that he should act the desperate Part of his Wife's Great Grandfather, *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who shot himself in the *Tower* in 1584; instead of nobly bearing his Fate like *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Essex* in 1601.

THE gallant *Algernon Sydney* was next marked out for Destruction; and the brutal *Jefferies* was made Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, that the Prisoner might have no Possibility of evading his Fate. He was Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, and worthy of that Family which had produced Sir *Philip Sydney*. He had imbibed his Notions of Liberty from the great Examples of Antiquity; and had always professed himself a Republican; equally opposing the Usurpation of *Cromwell*, and the Restoration of *Charles* the Second, while the Republican Party had any Existence. At first, he refused the Act of Indemnity; which at last he accepted; and greatly offended the King by joining the Country-Party. His Trial began, on the 21st of *November*, at the *Old-Bailey*; when *Rumsey*, *West*, and *Keiling*, were produced as Witnesses, who said nothing directly against the Prisoner: But Lord *Howard* deposed the same against him as he had done against Lord *Russel*. The Jury were packed by the Court; and were not Freeholders, as they ought to have been upon such a Trial laid in *Middlesex*. The Evidence was weak; and supplemental Matters were so necessary, that a Manuscript was produced, which *Sydney* had been writing, and was found in his Closet. This was an Answer to *Filmer's Patriarcha*, which asserted the divine Right of Monarchy: But *Sydney* advanced, that Princes had their Power from the People, with such Restrictions and Limitations, that made them liable to the Justice of the People, if they abused their Power to the Prejudice of the Subjects, and against established Laws. It was insisted, that even this Sort of dead Evidence should stand as a second Witness against the Prisoner; though it
was

A. D. was not proved that he wrote the Book, which has ever since been considered as one of the best Treatises on Government; and is intitled, *A general View of Government in Europe*. The Prisoner made a noble Defence; and was treated with Indecency from the Bench, where Humanity ought to have presided. The Jury were directed by the Judges; and *Sydney* was cast, to the Disgrace of Justice and Honesty. He appealed to the King in vain; though the People universally exclaimed against the Trial, as an enormous Act of Injustice. This excellent Man, on the 7th of *December*, was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he delivered the Sheriffs a Paper in Vindication of himself; and had his Head cut off at one Blow. He rejoiced that he suffered for the *Old Cause*, in which he was so early engaged; and met Death with an Unconcern that became one who had set up *Marcus Brutus* for his Pattern.

HAMPDEN was tried on the Evidence of *Howard* for a Misdemeanor, and was fined at no less than 40,000 *l*. Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was seized in *Holland*, sent over, and executed at *Tyburn*, where he was conducted by the Guards he had commanded. The Duke of *Monmouth* obtained his Pardon, on giving an Account of the Plot; which he immediately denied, and was banished the Kingdom. Mr. *Baillie* was put to the Torture, and executed at *Edinburgh*, for being concerned with the *English* Conspirators. And the *Protestant Plot* seemed now to be sufficiently sealed with Blood; though the King afterwards paid many a Sigh to the Memory of Lord *Russel*; and the Nation wept over the Virtues of *Sydney*.

In the mean Time, *Oates* the Informer was convicted of having called the Duke of *York* a Popish Traitor: For which he was fined 100,000 *l*. and condemned to Prison till he made Payment, where he lay till he suffered amazing Punishment in the next Reign: Though, in 1680, *Shaftesbury* had presented an Indictment against the Duke as a Popish Recusant*. Sir *Samuel Bernardson*, and *John Dutton Colt*, Esq; were also excessively

* See this Vol. p. 222.

cessively fined, for speaking disrespectfully of the Government. The *Whigs* were rendered unpopular; and *Passive Obedience* became so much the reigning Principle, that the University of *Oxford* solemnly passed a Decree in the Convocation, “against certain pernicious Books, and damnable Doctrines, destructive to the sacred Persons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society.” In this Decree they condemned twenty-seven Propositions collected out of *Buchanan*, *Bellarmino*, *Milton*, *Dolman*, *Hobbs*, *Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Baxter*, *Jenkins*, *Goodman*, and other modern Authors; some of whom were Enthusiasts, whose Opinions were justly condemned; but others were Politicians, whose Principles ought to have been justified. Upon which it may be observed, that, as to some of these political Tenets, we shall find that learned Body stand self-condemned upon their own Decree, by their own subsequent Actions in the glorious Struggle made against *James* the Second in 1687, by *Magdalen-College*; which was an Honour to the University.

THE Princess *Anne*, second Daughter of the Duke of *York*, had been bred a Protestant; and, on the 28th of *July*, was married to Prince *George*, the second Son of *Frederic* the Third, King of *Denmark*. The Prince was thirty Years of Age, and the Princess nineteen. They were even Ornaments to Royalty, and the Princess succeeded to the Crown in 1702, when she began a glorious and happy Reign.

THE Town, Castle, and Mole of *Tangier*, were utterly demolished this Year, by the Earl of *Dartmouth*, who was sent there by the King with twenty Sail of Ships for that Purpose; whereby his Majesty was freed from a continual annual Expence for the Preservation of the Place; and the Garrison served to augment the Forces at Home. The King thus deprived himself of this Gift which he had received from *Portugal*;* and *England* obtained no Place of Security for the *Levant* Trade, till she got *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* from the *Spaniards*; the latter of which was taken in 1708, and lost to the *French* in 1756.

VOL. III.

M

WHILE

* See this Vol. p. 68.

A. D. 1684 WHILE *Charles* was rendering himself absolute in *England*; he was glad to see the *French* Monarch continuing to vex both *Spain* and the Empire, by extending his Conquests in the *Low-Countries* and on the *Rhine*, by the Pen and the Sword. By erecting the arbitrary Chambers of *Metz* and *Brisac*, *Lewis* seized into his own Hands, under the Notion of Dependencies, and the Pretext of Re-Union, whatever Towns or Districts of Country, tempted his Ambition, or suited his Convenience. He encouraged the *Hungarians* in their Revolt, which brought on the Siege of *Vienna* by the *Turks*; and that Capital of the *Austrian* Dominions was threatened with Destruction by the Grand Vizir *Kara Mustapha*, when the Siege was gloriously raised, and the City preserved, by *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Consequence was an Alliance of Guaranty, formed in 1683, between the Emperor, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Bavaria*, and the States-General; which, in 1686, produced the famous League of *Ausburg*, and afterwards the general Confederacy against *France*.

SUCH Alterations had been made in the *English* Courts of Judicature, that they all acted in Compliance to the King, as if he had been a grand Signior; and upwards of thirty Persons were this Year condemned in large Fines, or otherwise punished, for speaking against the King, the Duke of *York*, or the Government. The Corporations in general were terrified to surrender their Charters; whereby the Nation was stripped of all those Rights and Privileges, which they had so passionately defended against the Attempts of *Charles* the First. The Earl of *Danby*, and the Popish Lords, were released from the *Tower*, on their Bail. While Doctor *Burnet* was obliged to seek Protection in *Holland*, for preaching a Sermon against Popery on the 5th of *November*. The Guards were augmented to a Standing-Army of 8000 Men; which was then the Badge of National Slavery, however it may have been considered in after Times. The Militia was brought into Contempt; and the Method of *French* Government revived. But all these absolute Measures were attributed to the Duke of *York*, who took Advantage of the Indolence of the King, and held him in a Kind of Subjection.

THE

THE Marquis of *Halifax* still recommended the Call- A. D. ing of a Parliament; and it is probable the King in- 1685. tended to follow this Advice; as also to send his Brother into *Scotland*, recal *Monmouth*, and make an entire Alteration in the Ministry. Whatever were his Intentions, Death prevented him from putting them into Execution: For he was seized with a Kind of an Apoplexy, on the 1st of *February*, which threw him into a languishing Way till the 6th, when he expired, in the 55th Year of his Age, the 25th of his real Reign, and thirty-six Years after the Death of his Father. He received the Sacrament from *Huddleston* a *Romish* Priest; and declined to receive it from Bishop *Ken*: So that he confirmed his Religion at his Death, which he denied in his Life. He tenderly took Leave of his Brother, and breathed his last Moments before many of his Courtiers, with a Serenity in his Agonies that amazed all the Attendants.

It was strongly suspected his Majesty was poisoned by the Papists: But the Duke of *York* was never accused with being concerned in such a Crime; and no formal Proof was made that the King died by Poison, though his Body was dissected. His Death was as unexpected as that of his Grandfather *James* the First; and the Suddenness of his Indisposition created the Suspicion of Violence; for he had hitherto enjoyed a perfect State of Health, and an excellent Habit of Body, which he had carefully preserved by continual Exercise.

HIS Majesty was privately and parsimoniously buried in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel in *Westminster-Abbey*; where his Effigies in Wax was placed, adorned with royal Robes.

THUS we have closed this long and important Reign, which is more worthy the Attention of the Politician, and more perplexing to the Historian, than any other since the *Norman* Conquest; because, when *Truth* is misled by *Faction*, it is difficult for *History* to walk in those open Paths in which she delights to introduce her Followers.

KING *Charles* the First, when he was upon the Scaffold in 1649, professed himself a true Member of the Church of *England*: But *Charles* the Second, on his

Death-Bed, professed himself a Member of the Church of *Rome*; and it is difficult to fix upon a Character to introduce him to his Government *; for the first twelve Years of his nominal Reign, was such a Farce of Policy and Government, that it libels the Chronicle. Let a Prince make what gracious Speeches he pleases, his Actions will be more significant, and speak plainer than his Declarations: On which Account, *Charles* the Second was never steady to his People, nor his People overcredulous to him. The King was obliged to shuffle on, sometimes in the Form of Persecution against Dissenters; sometimes in that of Toleration and Indulgence to them, and their tender Consciences: So that Religion grew a mere State Weather-Cock, as Circumstances happened; and turned as Cabals moved,—now one Way,—now another. He discovered the same Unsteadiness in Civil Matters; shifting Ministers and Officers, proroguing and dissolving Parliaments. His Military Affairs were under no better Management; for he raised Armies to take the Air, and then disbanded them abruptly; sometimes with the *Dutch* against the *French*, and then with the *French* against the *Dutch*; though always attached to the Interest of *France* in Hopes of arriving at arbitrary Power, more than he was to that of his own Country, where he might have reigned with greater Glory in a *Constitutional* Manner. He was not only variable in his Councils; but inconsistent in his Amours; and, at last, shook off his almost wedded Parliament, as lightly as his Mistresses. The Cavaliers taxed him with want of Generosity: The Dissenters reproached him with Ingratitude: And the Papists censured him with Dissimulation: While the Champions for the Established Church always represented him as a good and gracious Prince; at the same Time that the Courtiers flattered him with the Principles of Deists: All which occasions his general Character to be patched together, by the Whig and Tory Writers, like the motleyed Vest of a Stage Harlequin. †

MANY

* See this Vol. p. 10 and 11. † Ibid. p. 12 and 13.

MANY eminent Hands have been employed in portraying the Character of this Monarch ; particularly *John Sheffield Duke of Buckingham*, and *George Savile Marquis of Halifax* ; *Sir William Temple*, and *Mr. North* ; *Bishop Burnet*, and *Doctor Welwood*. During his Exile, he is said, by some, to have delivered himself so entirely to his Pleasures, that he became incapable of Application to Business : As also, that he was an Adulterer, and guilty of Cruelty ; having great Vices, with scarce any Virtues to correct them. Others report, *that he never did harm to any living Thing willingly* ; and term him *a very honest Gentleman*, who was witty himself, and loved it immoderately in others. It is affirmed on one Side, that he spent little of his Time in reading or Study : But on the other, it is said, that he had a great Judgment to discern Truth and Right ; as likewise, that he sometimes shewed his Ministers that he was as able a Politician as themselves ; and was much delighted with the Study of Ship-Building. In some Instances he is represented not only as liberal, but prodigal ; and yet, in others, not only frugal, but niggardly. *Welwood* will have it, “ that he was a Prince endowed with all the Qualities that might justly have rendered him a *Titus*, if he had pursued the Interest of his Country.” And *Burnet* says, “ his Person and Temper, his Vices and Fortunes, resemble the Character of *Tiberius*,” who was considered by the *Romans* as a Tyrant, and the Reproach of their Country ; while they looked upon *Titus* as a God, and *the Delight of human Kind*. *Welwood* too has the same Observation about the Similitude between the Faces of *Tiberius* and *Charles the Second* ; with this Addition, that there was also “ a great Likeness between their Maxims of Government, the Time of their Age in which they came to govern, the Length of their Reigns, and the Suspicions about the Manner of their Deaths : Nor is this any Reflection upon the Memory of King *Charles* ; for, except in his Temper, Cruelty, Jealousy, and unnatural Lusts, *Tiberius* may be reckoned among the wisest and bravest of those that wore the Imperial Purple.” It has been generally said, that

Charles was an easy, generous Lover ; a very obliging Husband ; a friendly Brother ; an indulgent Father ; a good-natured Master ; and an excellent Companion. Yet it is asserted, he was inconstant to his Mistresses ; expressed no Tenderness for the Queen even when he was dying ; hated the Duke of *York*, and never repented the Murder of the Dutchess of *Orleans* ; neglected to reconcile his favourite Son, the Duke of *Monmouth*, to his Successor, and thereby exposed him to Destruction ; suffered his old and faithful Friend, the Earl of *Clarendon*, to seek Protection in a voluntary Banishment ; and was fonder of Strangers than others, because they would listen to his often-repeated Stories.

THUS *Charles* the Second has been represented in the odious Shape of a Dæmon, and the amiable Form of a Seraph ; according as Party prevailed, and as Principle dictated. So that the opposite Writers, in giving his Character, seem to speak of two different Kings of the same Name. If he is not so much famed for royal and military Accomplishments as many of his Predecessors, he has made himself more remarkable by trampling upon the Rights of a free People, and introducing a Standing-Army of 8000 Men among them, which was then considered as a dangerous Novelty, when the Nation might have been more legally and properly guarded by its ancient and constitutional Militia. He instructed the *French* in naval Architecture, and established their maritime Power, which began in the Reign of his Father : While he contributed to the Declension of the *Dutch*, and the Ruin of the *Austrian* Greatness ; in which Respect, he adopted the worst Principles of *Cromwell's* Politics, without any Regard to the best ; and became a Pensioner to *France*, when he might have been the Arbiter of *Europe*.

UPON the Whole : *Charles* the Second would have made a good private Gentleman : But he was not designed by Nature for a great Monarch, a brave Warrior, or a wise Statesman. He was as eager in the Pursuit of his amorous Passions as *Edgar* *, who reigned in

* See Vol. I. p. 139.

in 971; and as much infatuated with the Dutcheſs of *Portsmouth*, as *Henry the Second* † was with fair *Rosamond*, or *Edward the Third* ‡ with *Alice Pierce*: But he wanted the noble Qualities with which all thoſe Monarchs were endued. Like *William the Conqueror* ||, he began his Reign with Clemency, and ended it in Cruelty. He ſtrippt the City of *London* of its Privileges, by taking away the Charter, as *Richard the Second* § had done in 1392: But he was not puniſhed, like that Prince, for his arbitrary Proceedings. The Duke of *Buckingham* remarks, that he was an illuſtrious Exception to all the common Rules of *Phyſiognomy*: For, with a moſt *Saturnine* harſh Sort of a Countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful Diſpoſition; and, in the laſt thirty Years of his Life, as fortunate, as thoſe of his Father had been diſmal and tumultuous. But *Coke* obſerves, that he left the Nation more vitiated and debauched in their Manners, than ever it was by any other King; having not only ſquandered away the ancient Revenues of the Crown, which were eſteemed ſacred, and which ſhould have ſupported it againſt foreign Forces, and inſeſtine Diſcord; but left ſuch a Debt upon it as never before was heard of, nor contracted by ſuch Means. And *Welwood* ſays, he died opportunely for *England*; “ ſince, if he had lived, it is probable we might, in Compliance with him, have complimented ourſelves out of all the Remains of Liberty.”

His Perſon was tall, and well-made; with a vigorous and healthy Conſtitution. His Face was compoſed of harſh Features, difficult to be traced with the Pencil; yet, in the main, it was agreeable. His Complexion was ſwarthy: But his Mien was noble and majeſtic.

He left no Iſſue by his Queen *Catherine* of the Houſe of *Braganza*; which was greatly regretted, as ſuch a Failure afterwards occaſioned many Diſturbances in the Nation. However, he had many illegitimate Children, by ſeveral of his Miſtreſſes. 1. By Mrs. *Lucy Walters*,

M 4

or

† See Vol. I. p. 222. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 314. || *Ibid.* p. 173. § *Ibid.* p. 322, and this Vol. p. 75.

or *Barlow*, Daughter of *Richard Walters*, Esq; *James Fitzroy*, afterwards *Scot*, Duke of *Monmouth*, born at *Rotterdam*, on the 9th of *April* 1649; and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, on the 15th of *July* 1685. 2. By Mrs. *Elizabeth Killigrew*, Viscountess *Shannon*, Daughter of Sir *William Killigrew*, *Charlotte - Jemima - Henrietta - Maria Fitzroy*, who died in 1684. 3. By Mrs. *Catherine Pegge*, Daughter of *Thomas Pegge*, Esq; *Charles Fitz-Charles* Earl of *Plymouth*, commonly called *Don Carlos*, born in 1658, and killed at *Tangier* in 1680. 4. By Mrs. *Barbara Villiers*, Heiress of *William Viscount Grandison* in *Ireland*, and Wife of *Roger Palmer* Earl of *Castlemain*, created *Duchess of Cleveland*, who died in 1709, he had three Sons, and three Daughters: *Charles Fitzroy* Duke of *Southampton*, and afterwards Duke of *Cleveland*, born in 1662: *Henry Fitzroy* Duke of *Grafton*, born in 1663, and killed in 1690 at the Siege of *Cork* in *Ireland*: And *George Fitzroy* Duke of *Northumberland*, born in 1665, and died 1716, without Children. *Ann Fitzroy*, born in 1661, and married to *Thomas Lennard* Earl of *Suffex*: *Charlotte Fitzroy*, born in 1664, and married to *Edward-Henry Lee* Earl of *Litchfield*: And *Barbara*, born in 1672, who became a Nun at *Pontoise* in *France*. 5. By Mrs. *Hellen Gavyn*, a celebrated Actress, *Charles Beauclerk* Duke of *St. Albans*, born in 1670: And *James Beauclerk*, born in 1671, and died in 1680. 6. By *Louisa de Querouaille*, a Lady of *Bretagne* in *France*, created *Duchess of Portsmouth*, *Charles Lenox* Duke of *Richmond*, *Lenox*, and *Aubigny*, born in 1672. 7. By Mrs. *Mary Davis*, *Mary Tudor*, born 1673, and married to *Francis Ratcliffe* Earl of *Derwentwater*.

BESIDES the Plague *, and Fire † of *London*, in 1665, and 1666; there happened, on the 3d of *September* 1675, a Day ‡ long fatal to the *Stewart* Family, just nine Years after that of *London*, a terrible Fire at *Northampton*, which destroyed almost the whole Town: And, in 1676, no less than 600 Houses were consumed in

* See this Vol. p. 100.
Vol. II. p. 378.

† Ibid. p. 111.

‡ See

in the Borough of *Southwark*. In 1662, *Elizabeth Stewart*, Daughter of *James* the First, Electress Palatine, and Queen of *Bohemia*, died at *London*, aged sixty-six: She had eight Sons, and five Daughters, of whom the youngest surviving, the Princess *Sophia* *, was declared Heir to the Crown of *Great-Britain* in 1701, and her Son ascended the Throne in 1714, by the Name of *George* the First. In 1670, died *Henry Jenkins*, a poor Fisherman of *Yorkshire*, who was born in 1501, and was 169 Years of Age, which was seventeen more than the Age of *Thomas Parr* †, who died in 1635. Several Comets appeared during this Reign: But that in 1680 was the most remarkable, as the Tail of it visibly extended forty-five Degrees, or 2700 Miles. Sir *Isaac Newton* calculated the Course of those Comets, and was the first Writer who found the Laws of such Bodies. In 1682, the Ship, which carried the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*, struck on the Sand called the *Leman* and *Oar*; which obliged him to take to his Pinnace: And was such an Accident as happened to Prince *William* ‡, Son of King *Henry* the First, in 1120. But the Earl of *Roxburg*, Lord *Obrian*, Mr. *Hyde* the Duke's Brother-in-Law, with several other Persons of Distinction, and 130 Seamen, were drowned in the Ship; though, it is said, the Duke took Care to save several Jesuits, and some of his Dogs. In 1683, a violent Frost began in *November*, and continued till the 5th of *February*; when the *Thames* was frozen over so hard, that Streets of Booths were erected, and the Hackney Coachmen plied upon the Ice, between the *Temple* and *Westminster-Hall*: The River was even passable on Foot below Bridge; and the narrow Seas were so frozen, that the Packet-Boats could not sail for a Fortnight.

It is certain, that this licentious Reign greatly corrupted the Manners, and enervated the Dispositions of the People; who followed the gay Examples of the Court, in Complaisance to the Sovereign; and at once shook off the Rust of Fanaticism, without any Regard to

M 5

Decency,

* See Vol. II. p. 184 and 199.

† Ibid. p. 285.

‡ See Vol. p. 199.

Decency, and very little to Religion; which began to be shrouded in the Cloud of Deism that visibly spread itself from the Court to the Country. Yet many Things arose to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation, which could still boast of noble Patriots, and brave Warriors; wise Philosophers, and sound Statesmen; able Lawyers, and good Divines; excellent Poets, and fine Historians; elegant Artists, and curious Manufacturers.

COMMERCE received an extraordinary Encouragement, and generous Protection. In 1660, the *Trade and Plantation Office**, which had been appointed by Oliver Cromwell in 1655, was permanently established, under the Direction of Eight Commissioners. The *Customs* received a great Alteration the same Year; and the *Excise*† was perpetuated; each of them under the Direction of Nine Commissioners: The *Act of Navigation*‡; the *Book of Rates*; and *Rules for the Advancement of Trade*, were also settled by the Authority of Parliament. The *General Post-Office* was erected at the same Time; which was followed by the *Penny Post-Office*, in 1683. The *Wine Licence Office* was established, in 1661, under Five Commissioners; as also the Office for *Hawkers and Pedlars*, under Three Commissioners. In 1662, a new Charter was granted to the *East-India Company*; which augmented the Privileges granted by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth in 1599. The *Royal African Company*|| was began in 1663, and established in 1673. The *Royal Society of London* was also instituted by Patent in 1662; which brought manual Arts to Perfection, by the Conduct of experimental Philosophy; and from this Institution all others of the same Kind in Europe have taken their Rise, to the wonderful Improvement of the Mechanic Arts, of Manufactures, and indeed of Universal Commerce. In 1668, Mr. Brewer brought some *Walloons* into England; who instructed the English to make and dye fine Woollen Cloths, cheaper by forty per Cent. than they could before. Several new
Manu-

* See Vol. II. p. 384. † See this Vol. p. 22.

‡ See Vol. II. p. 316, and this Vol. p. 37. || See this Vol. p. 91.

Manufactures were established in Glass, Silk, Hats, Brass, and Iron; for which, favourable Laws were enacted. In 1660, the *Royal Mint* in the *Tower of London* was established; and the *English Coinage* was improved like the *Roman Medals* under *Justinian*. In 1682, most of the ancient Gold Coins were converted into Guineas, and half Guineas; which were so called, because the first of that Species of Coin was made of Gold brought from *Guinea* in *Africa*: The former being ordered to go at Twenty Shillings, and the other at Ten. But the *Milled Money* came into Use in 1663; when the Silver Coins, Crowns, half Crowns, Shillings, and Sixpences, were brought to great Perfection: And, in 1672, Copper Halfpence and Farthings were coined. The Increase of the Coinage, which can only rise from the Increase of Trade, was 7,524,104 *l*. In Fact, while the Wings of Liberty were plucked, and the Spirit of Patriotism suppressed, Commerce flourished more than ever. The Gain of National Affluence, made a temporary Compensation for the Loss of National Honour. But this Accession of Trade introduced a new System of Taxes, which grew like the winding Ivy round the stately Oak, and sheltered the Vermin that gradually crept in to destroy its Root.

THE *British Empire* in *America* was prodigiously extended, secured, and improved. The Province of *Carolina* was so called in Honour of his Majesty, and was planted in 1670; after which, it became a flourishing Colony. *Pensylvania* was colonized by Mr. *Pen*, and soon became a considerable Country for Trade. *New-York*, and the *Jerseys*, were gained from the *Dutch*: And *Virginia* was rendered safe by a Peace with the *Indians*. The *Bahama* Islands were secured from Pirates by settling a Colony at *Providence*. The *Spaniards*, by Treaty, confirmed the Right of *Jamaica* to his *Britannic Majesty*; who also, in 1661, purchased the Propriety of *Barbadoes* from Lord *Kinoul*. By the Act of Navigation, all the Commerce of these Colonies are to be carried on by the Way of *England*: And it is amazing to think of what great Advantage these *American Plantations* have proved to *Great-Britain*; by consuming her Manu-

factures, and returning their own Commodities ; which increases her Shipping, and breeds up her Seamen. The Conjecture made by Baron *Puffendorff*, that *England* was weakened by planting the several Colonies in *America*, is ridiculous ; as may be evidently seen from the Writings of Doctor *D'avenant* : For it has so much increased the Trade of the Nation, that the Number of Inhabitants, in and about the City of *London*, is now about five Times more than at the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*.

THE Fleet was greatly augmented to what it had been under *Cromswell*, who had only 77 Ships, and 9000 Seamen : But *Charles*, though he found only 63 Vessels of all Sizes at his Restoration, had a Fleet of 112 Ships in 1678. *Greenwich-Hospital* was also began in this Reign ; and the *Vitrualling-Office* was established for supplying the Navy.

IN 1662, the *London Workhouse* was erected. *Sion-College* was incorporated in 1664 : And the Corporation-Act for *Clergymen's Widows and Children* was granted in 1678.

THE Arts and Sciences flourished ; and the Age was adorned by many great Men. *London* was rebuilt, and appeared as magnificent as ancient *Rome* : But the Citizens forgot to re-place the Monument which Sir *Edward Barkham*, the Lord-Mayor, erected in 1622, to the Memory of *William* Bishop of *London*, who was a *Norman*, and obtained great Privileges of *William the Conqueror* for the City. In 1669, the noble Theatre at *Oxford* was opened ; which was built at the Expence of Archbishop *Sheldon*, who died in 1677. Sir *Christopher Wren*, and *Inigo Jones*, revived the ancient Architecture ; being Rivals to *Vitruvius* and *Palladio*. Bishop *Wilkins*, and Doctor *Wallis*, were like *Euclid* and *Archimedes* in the Mathematics. Doctor *Sydenham* was another *Hipocrates* in Physic. Mr. *Boyle*, and Sir *Isaac Newton*, were the Pole-Stars among the modern Philosophers, and exceeded all the Sages of Antiquity. *Thomas Hobbes* was of a very different, yet very extraordinary Cast, and died in 1679, aged 91. And the Earl of *Clarendon* was another *Thucydides* in History, and died in 1674.

DOCTOR

DOCTOR *Tillotson* had the brightest Thoughts, and the most correct Stile, of all the Divines. Doctor *Stillingfleet* was a bold and learned Writer against Infidelity and Popery. Doctor *Patrick* wrote chiefly on the Scriptures. Doctor *Lloyd*, and Doctor *Tennison*, were eminent Preachers. They all reformed the Way of Preaching, which before was over-run with Pedantry: For their Discourses were plain, clear, and short; without the pyc-balled Quotations from Fathers and ancient Writers. *Spratt* wrote with Elegance; and *Barrow* with Spirit: *Kenn* wrote History with Precision; and *Burnet* with Inaccuracy.

SIR *Matthew Hale* was a judicious Lawyer, and died in 1676. The great *Algernon Sydney* was a nervous political Writer. *James Harrington* was more subtle; and died in 1677. The Earl of *Shaftesbury* was a great Sophister. Monsieur *St. Evremond*, a Refugee, was a learned and delicate Essayist. *Meric Caufabon* was an eminent Critic, who died in 1671. And Sir *William Temple* was an Ornament to the Language, which he richly improved.

BRYAN WALTON, Bishop of *Chester*, was the Compiler of the *Polyglott Bible*, and died in 1661. *Henry Oldenberg* was the first Publisher of the Philosophical Transactions, and died in 1678. *Bulstrode Whitlock* wrote the Memorials of the *English Affairs*, and died in 1675. *Gale*, *Sheringham*, and *Poole* had some Notice taken of their Writings. Counsellor *Prynne*, who died in 1669, wrote more than 200 Treatises: And Sir *Roger L'Estrange* was also remarkable for his voluminous Productions.

SIR *Peter Lely* was an eminent Painter, who died in 1680. But, though there were many Poets who were rich in Genius, there were few whose Taste was delicate. *Dryden* deservedly stands the foremost, and was an Honour to his Country; notwithstanding Indecency was encouraged on the Stage, and Merit disregarded at Court. *Burnet* calls him a Monster of Immodesty; yet allows him to be the great Master of dramatic Poetry. Sir *John Denham*, and Sir *William D'avenant*, died in
1668:

1668 : *Milton** in 1674 ; and *Butler** in 1680. *Waller* and *Cowley* were living in this Reign. *John Wilmot* Earl of *Rochester* died in 1680 ; with the Reputation of a keen, but indecent Satyrift. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Mr. *Wycherley* were fine Writers in Comedy. The Marquis of *Halifax* had a refined Genius. The Earls of *Mulgrave*, *Dorset*, and *Roscommon* wrote with Wit and Purity. *Andrew Marvel* was chaste in his Pieces, and died in 1678. But *Hobbes* and *Ogilby*, are no more worthy of the Names of Poets, than many others who pestered this Reign with their Productions.

THE Age rivalled that of *Elizabeth* in Poetry ; and had been equal to that of *Augustus*, if the King had imitated the Example of his Cotemporary *Lewis* the Fourteenth, by giving proper Encouragement to Genius.

THE Stage, indeed, was an Epitome of the Court ; and the reigning Vices were rather exposed for Merriment than Censure. There was a Prostitution of Wit, as well as of Manners ; and the Courtiers diverted themselves at the Expence of the Citizens, who had honestly opposed the ministerial Measures, and thereby offended the King. The Satire of Comedy was so idly employed, and Ridicule so meanly exerted, that it was a sufficient Recommendation for a Play, if an Alderman was cuckolded, and a Merchant vilified. But this Taste gradually declined, and became discountenanced after the Revolution, when the Character of the Merchant was revered, and dramatic Wit levelled against the Follies of the Courtiers, as the proper Objects of poetical Corrections.

ROCHESTER praised *Buckhurst* and *Sidley* : But had the Meanness to prefer *Crown* to *Dryden*, whose great Merit raised him equal Envy : For Men of Letters are not easily brought to like one another : They have a Backwardness to Reciprocation of Applauses : And, as *Bruyere* observes, if one Poet praises the Verses of another, it is an even Wager that they are flat and spiritless. Most of the Authors who flourished in this

Reign

* See Vol. II. p. 419, and 420.

Reign retained the common Prejudices of Men of Literature ; as a Proof that it is common, and almost natural, to judge of others Productions only by their Affinity with our own. The Poet, filled with sublime Ideas, and heated with the Glow of Fancy, looks with Indifference on the Discourse of an Orator, which is often confined to simple Facts : Nor can the Historian comprehend how a rational Man can employ his Time in contriving Fictions, or finding out a Rhyme. Thus the Divine, immersed in the Study of Fathers and Councils, thinks all other Knowledge insignificant ; while his own Labours are as much despised by the Geometrician, or Astronomer.

THE Duke of *Monmouth*, and Lord *Offory*, shewed the Nation had not lost all its military Virtue : While the Age was teeming to bring it to Perfection, in the Person of him who was afterwards *John Duke of Marlborough* !

HONOURS were distributed in this Reign with more Profusion than in any other. The Nobility were increased by the Creation of fourteen Dukes ; one Marquis ; thirty-four Earls ; six Viscounts ; and twenty-two Barons. The King also created three Dutcheffes ; three Countesses ; two Viscountesses ; and two Baroneffes. He also made forty-seven Knights of the Garter ; sixty-eight Knights of the Bath ; and four hundred and thirty-two Baronets. But Honours are not always conferred on Merit, which is neither excluded nor included by a Prince's Favour. And it is well known that an honest Man is a Man of Honour : Though, *Bruyere* says, it is comical to think that many a Man of Honour is quite another Thing than an honest Man.

ENGLAND, with *France* unnaturally join'd,
With *Gallic* Squadrons sees her own combin'd :
Such Force united awes the *Belgic* Fleet,
Again as *Rupert*, and brave *Ruyter*, meet :
The naval Conflicts are again renew'd ;
And *Belgia's* Towns, by *Lewis*, are subdu'd.

See

See *Spragg* * expire in all his naval Toil ;
 And *Turenne* † perish on *Germania*'s Soil.
 The Storm of War, collected in its Force,
 Makes *Europe* arm to stop a Tyrant's Course :
England, and *Holland*, all their Fury cease,
 And join in one indissoluble Peace.
 But *France* augments her terrible Alarms ;
 And noble *Ruyter* ‡ dies in *Glory*'s Arms.
 At last *Contention* dies ; fair *Peace* descends :
 And, o'er *Europa*'s Plains, her Wand extends.

THE *British* Patriots still with Freedom glow,
 And guard Religion from each *Papal* Blow.
 The *Popish Plot* || by *Tonge* and *Oates* is laid,
 And *Stafford* § is a public Victim made.
Godfrey ¶ is murder'd : Many *Jesuits* die,
 As Party-Rage has hood-wink'd *Reason*'s Eye.
Exclusionists, and *Yorkists*, fill the Land,
 Till *Freedom*'s Sons fall by the *Papal* Hand.
 The *Rye-House Plot* (a), the *Popish Plot* oppos'd ;
 And Cruelty the Scene of Vengeance clos'd.
Illustrious Russel, in the Patriot Strife,
 By all lamented, lost his glorious Life :
 And gallant *Sydney* gloriously expir'd,
 With all the *Roman* Flame that *Brutus* fir'd :
 Unhappy *Effex* bleeds without the Law :
 And *Shaftesbury* keeps *Charles* no more in Awe ;
 But dies an Exile : Such does *Monmouth* live,
 Awhile ; nor long his Party to survive.

THE Senate still submissively comply'd ;
 And, by Obedience, rais'd the Royal Pride :
 'Till ministerial Pow'r was forc'd to yield,
 And *Danby* found the King no more is Shield.
 The Voice of *Freedom* soon surrounds the Throne ;
 And *Charles* dissolves the Senate, long his own.

IN *Roman* Habit, *Liberty* appears,
 To *Temple*'s View : Her *Agis Pallas* rears,

With

* See this Vol. p. 178. † Ibid. p. 184. ‡ Ibid.
 p. 185. || Ibid. p. 194. § Ibid. p. 203. ¶ Ibid.
 p. 197. (a) Ibid. p. 234.

With *Attic* Vest array'd; and, pleas'd, attends
 Where noble *Halifax* convenes his Friends.
Temple, and *Savile*, Names for-ever dear
 To *Britain*, while the *Muses* charm the Ear,
 And Freedom warms the Heart; for, by your Smile,
Learning reviv'd, and *Freedom* blest the Isle.
 The sacred CHARTER* our Forefathers won,
 When *Papal* Violence oppress'd the Throne,
 Your Care preserv'd from arbitrary Rage.
 "The *Habeas Corpus Act* † adorn'd the Age!"
 'This the rude Hand of Pow'r by Law restrain'd;
 And *Britain's* Sons their ancient Freedom gain'd:
 Oh, Heav'n! this great Palladium make thy Care,
 And let Posterity the Blessing share.

Now Party Rage, with greater Fury flames;
 And *Whig* and *Tory* ‡ are the rival Names.
 The *Whigs* for Freedom unsuccessful strove:
 The *Tories* shew'd the King immod'rate Love:
 'Till, conscious of his arbitrary Reign,
 And fearing *Popery's* destructive Scene,
 Their Zeal subsides, to give their Country Breath:
 But, *Charles*, thy best Designs were sunk in Death.
Britannia mourn'd, and *Freedom* took her Flight:
 While *Superstition*, in the Car of Night,
 From *Tyber's* Banks, drops on the Shore of *Thames*;
 And *Papal Discord* marks the Reign of *James*.

* See Vol. I. p. 253, and Vol. II. p. 286. † See
 this Vol. p. 216. ‡ See Vol. II. p. 198 and 287, and
 this Vol. p. 47 and 220.

XXVII. JAMES II. *the forty-seventh Monarch of England, and the fourth of Great-Britain; the twenty-seventh from the Norman Conquest, and the fourth of the Stewart Line.*

ANTONINE said, "It would be happy for the People, when the Emperor philosophized:" Which might have been applied to *Charles* the Second, and also to his Successor. Vices come from the Depravation of the Heart; Faults from Constitution; and Ridiculousness from Want of Sense. *Charles* was a Wit: But one Sign of a Deficiency of Sense, is to be always telling Stories. *James* was a Bigot; and, if any Conclusion might be drawn of his Practice from his Principles, or his Principles from his Practice, there was sufficient to convince for the Past, and to caution for the Future. All the World knew his Religion; and yet he had meanly prosecuted Mr. *Colt*; upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, for saying he was a Papist: Which was an Indication of what Favours he intended to allow the Protestants.

THE Commonwealth of *Rome*, when arrived at the highest Pitch of Glory, degenerated under the Emperors into the worst Sort of Monarchy; that is, one founded on military Power. The greatest Part of the *Roman* Emperors, who succeeded *Tiberius*, embraced his System of Politics, by placing the Honour of their Reign, not in governing the Empire best, but in enslaving it the most. *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, were too arbitrary, and exposed themselves to the greatest Violences. The four Princes of the House of *Stewart*, like these *Roman* Emperors, grasped at too much Power, which they were unable to bear, and sunk beneath the Load.

It sometimes happens, that a State, weak in itself, is made considerable by the Prudence of its principal Director; as was the Case of *Thebes* under *Epaminondas*. On the contrary, a Nation though naturally rich and powerful, is frequently brought, by the weak Management of those who sit at the Helm, into a poor and despicable Condition; as was the Case of *England* under *James* the Second.

MANY Families have been remarkable for retaining the same Manners and Disposition. Thus, in *Rome*, the *Manlii* were hard and obstinate; the *Publicoli* courteous, and Lovers of the People; the *Appii* ambitious, and Enemies of the People. This cannot proceed from the Blood only, which must alter by a Variety of Marriages: But it is derived from the Education, which one Family hath differently from another. *Livy* remarks, that all the *Appii* were led by the same Passion, and guided by the same Will. The Kings of the *Stewart* Line seem to be, as to their Characters in general, in the same Condition; though, with regard to their Methods and Ideas of Government, they had some Difference: For *James* the First philosophized upon it; *Charles* the First reasoned upon it, with too much self Opinion; *Charles* the Second bantered it; and *James* the Second never moralized on it at all.

THE Emperor *Dioclesian* was an arbitrary Prince, whose Will was a Law to his Subjects; and yet he refused the Reins of Government, which he had laid down to free himself from a Tribe of Flatterers; because he knew the Difficulty of reigning well. He was sensible, says *Vopiscus*, that it was vain to pursue Greatness, when even the good, the most discerning, the best and ablest Emperors were bought and sold. This is not so commonly the Case in limited Monarchies, where the Prince governs his People by fixed Rules, and known Statutes; and the States have a Right to represent their Grievances with Freedom. Happy is that People, where the *Constitution* is so poised and tempered; where the Administration is so disposed and divided into proper Channels, that the Passions and Infirmities
of

of the Prince cannot enter into the Measures of his Government; where he has in his Power all the Means of doing Good, and none of doing Ill; where all beneficent and gracious Actions are owned to flow from his Clemency and Goodness; and where inferior Machines are answerable for all such Conduct as may prejudice the Public. Such is the Monarchy of *England*; and, if *James* the Second had properly exerted the royal Authority, he would have been one of the happiest Monarchs in the World: But his Superstition was attended with Cruelty; and his Ambition with Contempt.

HE had before him the fatal Example of a Father, who was really a Protestant; * and yet was sent to his Grave by a violent Death, upon a false Suspicion of having a Design to introduce Popery. *James* was almost a Man when that Tragedy happened, and had suffered ten Years Banishment, among other Consequences that attended it. He had been acquainted abroad with *Christiana* † Queen of *Sweden*, who, in 1654, gloriously resigned her Crown; rather than run the Hazard of being divested of it for embracing the *Romish* Religion, by those very Subjects that held her before in the greatest Veneration. He might have remembered what his Mother said, upon his Return to *Somerset-House* after the Restoration, “ That if she had “ known the Temper of the People of *England* some “ Years past, as well as she did then, she had never “ been obliged to leave that House.” But the History of his Ancestors might have more fully informed him, that those who grasped at immoderate Power, or a Pre-rogative above the Law, were always unfortunate, and their Reigns inglorious. He had so many Years of Experience when he came to the Throne, that few of his Predecessors could boast of the same Advantages: For he had borne a considerable Share as to Action, in most of the Transactions of the preceding Reign; but much more as to Council and Influence. His Rank in
the

* See Vol. II. p. 283. † *Ibid.* p. 366.

the Navy made him fully acquainted with the natural Strength of the Nation. He had met with many Occasions to understand the Genius and Temper of the People he was to govern; and to know how far it was impracticable to overturn the Established Religion, or to introduce a new one: For he had wrestled with a great many Difficulties upon Account of his own. He was not unacquainted with those Arts by which his Brother gained the Affections of his People: And he had seen how fearful he was to push Things too far, or drive his Subjects to Extremities. However, he profited nothing by these Advantages; and run headlong to Ruin, with all these Examples before his Eyes.

JAMES Duke of *York*, the third Son of King *A D*
Charles the First, was born on the 13th of *October* ^{1633.}
1638; so that he was 47 Years of Age when he succeeded his Brother *Charles* the Second in the Throne of *Great Britain*, and was the 47th Monarch of *England*. He was proclaimed King on the Day that his Brother died: But he was not Crowned till the 23d of *April* following.

BURNET professes himself not fully acquainted with the Transactions of this Reign: But says, “ the Fate of this unfortunate Prince makes him the more tender in not aggravating his Errors; which ought to be chiefly charged on his Religion, and on those who had the Management of his Conscience, his Priests, and his *Italian Queen* *.” The Bishop in one Place asserts, “ that this Princess had much Wit and Cunning: That during all the Reign of *Charles* the Second, she behaved herself in so obliging a Manner, and seemed so innocent and gay, that she gained upon all that came near her, and possessed them with such Impressions of her, that it was long before her Behaviour after she was a Queen could make them change their Thoughts of her. So artificially did this young *Italian* behave herself, that she deceived the oldest and most jealous Persons, both in the Court and Country. She avoided the Appearance of a Zealot, or a Meddler in Business; gave

* See this Vol. p. 181.

A. D. 1685. gave herself up to innocent Chearfulness; and was universally esteemed and beloved, as long as she was Duchess." But when when she became Queen, he says, she took off the Mask, and began to discover herself.

JAMES the Second was much neglected in his Childhood, and the Parliament put him under the Care of the Earl of *Northumberland*. The King afterwards appointed Lord *Berkley* his Governor; who, *Burnet* says, seemed to lean to Popery; and the Queen took more than ordinary Arts to draw this Prince to her Religion. He was instructed in the Art of War, under the great † *Turenne*; who frequently said of him, "There was the greatest Prince, and like to be the best General of his Time." This raised the Character of *James* so much, that his Brother was not a little eclipsed by him. *Burnet* forgets to mention the Conduct of this Prince at Sea: Yet adds, in the End of his Life, he came to lose the Reputation of a brave Man and a good Captain so entirely, that either he was never that which Flatterers gave out concerning him, or his Age and Affairs wrought a very unusual Change on him.

THE Proclamation of *James* the Second, was performed with a heavy Solemnity; few Tears being shed for his Brother, and no Shouts of Joy made for himself. He met with no Opposition from the *Whigs*, who were so strenuous for his Exclusion at *Oxford*; and his Interest was supported by the *Tories*, who represented the Beginning of his Reign as the greatest of Blessings to the *English* Nation. The King wanted to have this Opinion confirmed; and, as soon as the Lords were returned from the Proclamation, he assembled the Privy Council at *White-hall*; to whom he made a formal Speech, wherein he declared, That he would endeavour to follow the Example of his Brother; and most especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People. After which, he proceeded in these Words; "I have been reported to be a Man for arbitrary Power: But that is not the only Story has been made of me; and I shall make it my Endeavour to

preserve

† See this Vol. p. 184.

preserve the Government, both in *Church and State*, as A. D. it is now by Law established. I know the Principles of 1685. the Church of *England* are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shewed themselves good and lawful Subjects; therefore, I shall always take Care to defend and support it. I know, too, that the Laws of *England* are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish; and, as I shall never depart from the just Rights and Prerogative of the Crown, so I shall never invade any Man's Property. I have often heretofore ventured my Life in Defence of this Nation, and I shall still go as far as any Man in preserving it in all its just Rights and Privileges."

If a *Trajan*, or an *Antoninus*, says *Welwood*, had been to lay down a Scheme of Government to make their People happy, they could not have done it in better Terms; nor could the Nation well desire, or wish for more. If his subsequent Actions had come up to it, he had eternized his Name, and might have revived in himself the Memory of those of his Ancestors who have deservedly given them by Posterity the Character of *Good and Great*. The Speech was received with great Applause by the Council, who had it printed, and immediately dispersed among the People; to whom it was so strongly represented that his Majesty had such a strict Observance to his Word and Faith, that they began to give him the Name of JAMES THE JUST! If this was Loyalty, it was carried to a Degree of Infatuation; because no intelligent Man could be ignorant that the new King was the principal Author of the Plots in the late Reign against the Protestant Religion, and the national Liberties.

His Majesty had professed himself a *Roman Catholic* since the Year 1670, and adhered to his Religion at the Hazard of the Crown: Therefore, it is not surprising that he went publicly to Mass two Days after his Accession. But it is amazing that he should take such Pains to prove that the late King was also of the *Romish* Religion, and died in that Faith; which was publicly attested by *Huddleston* * the Priest, and was a great

* See this Vol. p. 243.

A. D 1685 great Injury to the Reputation of *Charles* the Second, who had so frequently and solemnly assured his Parliament that he was a good Protestant. *James* also condescended to be the Publisher of two Papers, which he declared he found in his Brother's strong Box; wherein *Charles* asserts the Orthodoxy of the Church of *Rome*, and censures the Reformation in *England* with Fanaticism. But these Papers contain too much Christian Knowledge to have been written by *Charles*, who, says *Voltaire*, had always shewn the utmost Indifference in those controverted Points of Religion, which are apt to divide Mankind; and this greatly contributed to that peaceable Reign which he enjoyed: For, in Reality, his Religion was only Deism.

THE Post that conveyed the late promising Speech of the King all over the Nation, was followed by another, which alarmed the People with a Proclamation, "for Levying that Part of the Customs, which had been granted to his Brother only for Life;" and was expired at his Death. This was not only a Violation of his Promise in his studied Speech, but of the *Constitution*, by which no Money can be levied on the Subject without their Consent in Parliament. Nor could the King be ignorant, that an Encroachment of the same Nature had occasioned a great Contest between his Father and the Parliament, and that this Contest produced the *Petition of Right*. Such a Proceeding was the more extraordinary, as he affected to take by Authority, what he knew would not be refused by the Parliament, which was soon to be assembled, and chiefly composed of *Tories*, who reposed too much Confidence in the Royal Promises. However, congratulatory Addresses to the King were sent from all Parts upon his Accession to the Crown; and some of them were remarkable for their Servility. The Barristers and Students of the *Middle-Temple* magnified the Prerogative: The County of *Suffolk* hoped their Representatives would no more endure *Excluders* than *Abhorrrers*: And the University of *Oxford* said, they were indispensably bound to bear all Faith and true Obedience

Obedience to their Sovereign, without any Restrictions A. D. and Limitations.

1685.

THE Privy Counsellors, and Great Officers of the Crown, were sworn, and the vacant Places filled up. *Laurence Hyde* Earl of *Rocheſter*, the King's Brother-in-law, was promoted to the Office of Lord High-Treasurer, which had been in Commiſſion ſince the Reſignation of the Earl of *Danby* in 1679: The Marquis of *Hallifax* was made Preſident of the Council. *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*, Elder Brother to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, was made Lord Privy Seal; and the Earl of *Sunderland*, appointed Secretary of State. The Duke of *Ormond* was diſmiſſed from his Government in *Ireland*; but was continued Lord Steward of the Houſhold. The Earl of *Arlington*; the Lord Viſcount *Newport*; Lord *Maynard*; and *Henry Saville*, Eſq; were confirmed in their Places of Lord Chamberlain, Treasurer, Comptroller, and Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſhold. The Duke of *Beaufort*, was appointed Preſident of *Wales*; and the Lord *Godolphin*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

THE King retained the Reſentments of the Duke of *York*; and told *Hallifax*, he would forget every thing he had done againſt him, except his Behaviour during the Excluſion Bill; and the principal Excluſioniſts were received with Frowns, or Coldneſs, at Court. This gave the People no exalted Idea of the Lenity, or Magnanimity, of the King; who ought to have brought them to a Conciliation by moderate Treatment, inſtead of farther alienating their Affections by his Aſperity. The People of *England* may be compared to a free and generous Horſe, who will perform any Thing that is required of him, while he is uſed with Gentleneſs: But when he is checked and galled, he deſpiſes the Curb and the Spur, flings down his Rider, and ſoon recovers from his Rage. *Fabius* forgot his Reſentment to *Papirius*, when it was neceſſary to make him Dictator for the Good of the Republic; which contributed towards his obtaining the Title of *Maximus*: But *James* the Second followed the Example of *Tarquin* the Proud, and like him loſt his Kingdom.

A. D. 1685 THE Coronation of the King and Queen was solemnized on the 23d of *April*, in Imitation of what his Brother had done, * in 1661, as this was *St. George's Day*, Patron of the Order of the Garter. It had anciently been the Custom for the King, attended with his whole Court of Peers and Great Officers, to Cavalcade it with great Magnificence from the *Tower*, through several Triumphal Arches to *Westminster*; which was now laid aside, to the great Mortification of the City; nor were any Knights of the *Bath* created, as had been done by the late King; whereby, *Echard* says, there was a Saving made of 60,000 *l.* The Procession began from *Westminster-Hall*, and the Ceremony was performed in *Westminster-Abby*, by Doctor *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after the Protestant Form; with an Exception to the taking of the Sacrament, which had never been † omitted before. In this, says *Burnet*, his Priests certainly dispensed with him; and he had such Senses given him of the Oath, that he either took it as a Sin with a Resolution not to keep it, or he had a reserved Meaning in his own Mind. This Prelate also informs us, that the Sermon was preached by Doctor *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, who very handsomely set forth that Part of the History of *Constantius Chlorus*, in which he tried who would be true to their Religion, and reckoned that those would be faithfullest to himself who were truest to their God. The Bishop likewise observes, “the Crown was not well fitted to the King's Head: It came down too far, and covered the upper part of his Face. The Canopy carried over him did also break. Some other smaller Things happened that were looked on as ill Omens; and his Son by Mrs. *Sidley* died that Day.” *Echard* says, the old Earl of *Burlington* kept the Crown from falling off, and pleasantly told his Majesty, “this is not the first Time our Family have supported the Crown.” But such reputed Omens are popular Follies; and the Mob had their Holiday now, as well as they had 24 Years before.

* See this Vol. p. 53. † Ibid. p. 56.

fore. The assembly returned to *Westminster-Hall* to A. D. Dinner; at which Time Sir *Charles Dimock*, the King's ^{1685.} Champion, accompanied by the Lord High Steward, and the Earl Marshal, rode into the Hall in complete Armour, and performed the usual Ceremony of the Challenge.

SCOTLAND and *Ireland* had also their Share in the public Festivity, and the King was proclaimed in both Kingdoms with more Magnificence than his Coronation had been performed in *England*. The Parliament of *Scotland* met at *Edinburgh*, the same Day the King was Crowned in *London*; and *William Douglas*, Duke of *Queensberry*, was appointed Lord High Commissioner. This Nobleman plainly told the King, he could not engage to serve him in any Thing but what should be agreeable to the Laws: Upon which he was soon supplanted by *James Drummond*, Earl of *Perth*, who was then Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and soon after a *Papist*. *Ireland* was governed by the Lord Primate, and the Earl of *Granard*, as Lord Justices: *Ormond* was said to be superannuated: But that report was only raised to justify his Dismission from his Vice-royalty, and to make way for those Implements of State, who were to establish the *Papist* Religion in a Country well settled with-Protestants.

THE *Papist* Plot, * that once formidable Engine of Faction, was now to be entirely broke in Pieces; and three Persons odious to the King, the *Papists*, and the *Tories*, were to be punished. *Titus Oates*, the famous Discoverer of that Plot, was accused of Perjury on two Points of his Evidence: The one, for swearing he was present at the Grand Consult held at *London* the 24th of *April* 1678; and the other, for swearing that *Ireland* the *Jesuit* was in *London* at the Times he mentioned. He was tried on two Indictments, on the 8th of *May*, at the King's Bench-Bar, before Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies*, who, as well as the King's Council that now were against the Prisoner, had been for him upon the

N 2

Trials

* See this Vol. p. 194, 196, 199, 201.

A. D. 1685. Trials against the *Jesuits* in 1678. He was convicted on the Oath of 22 Persons who had been Students at St. Omers, and swore that *Oates* was in their Seminary when he swore he was in *London*: And 47 Persons were brought to prove, that *Ireland* was in *Staffordshire*, when *Oates* swore that *Jesuit* was in *London*. *Jefferies* declared, "that *Oates* was the blackest and most perjured Villain that ever appeared upon the Face of the Earth:" And Judge *Wilkins* sentenced him, "to pay a Fine of 1000 Marks upon each Indictment; to be stripped of his Canonical Habit; to stand twice in the Pillory within a few Days; to be Whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* on *Wednesday*, and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn* on *Friday*; as also to be committed close Prisoner, and stand in the Pillory five Times every Year, during his Life, as an annual Commemoration of his Perjury. The Judge told *Oates*, "if it had been in his Power to carry the Sentence farther, he should not have been unwilling to have given Judgment of Death upon him; for he was sure he deserved it." This was a strange Reversal of those Sentences on which so many Persons had lost their Lives in the late Reign. *Oates* still protested the Veracity of his Testimony; but the Design of the Court was to have him whipt to Death, as if he had been a Subject to the Great *Mogul*. He underwent the severity of his Punishment, which was executed with all imaginable Rigour and Barbarity: But he survived his Tortures, and recovered from his Wounds. The Populace regarded him as the Martyr of the Protestant Cause, and added nothing to his Distress in the Pillory, which in other Countries only exposes Persons to Shame; but, in this Respect, Custom has far exceeded the Law in *England*, where in our own Times we have seen Persons wantonly and cruelly pelted to Death with Dirt, rotten Eggs, and Stones. *Oates* lived to see the great Cause he had been so deeply engaged in once more Triumphant; and, in 1689, his Sentence was remited by *William* the Third, who settled a Pension of 5 *l.* a Week upon him during his Life, which had been miraculously preserved by the

Care

Care of his Friends, and through the Excellency of A. D.
his Constitution. 1685.

THOMAS DANGERFIELD, was the next Victim to the Catholics, who discovered the pretended *Meal-tub-Plot*, * which he at first laid to the Protestants; and afterwards said, he was persuaded to invent it 'by the *Papish* Lords in the Tower. He had published a Narrative concerning this Plot, that was now called a Scandalous Libel, and for which he was indicted at the King's Bench Bar, on the 30th of May; when he was found guilty, and received Judgment to stand twice in the Pillory; to be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* in one Day, and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn* on another; and to pay a Fine of 500 *l*. The Whipping was executed in full Rigour; immediately after which *Dangerfield* was killed by Mr. *Robert France* a Barrister of *Grays-Inn*, who thrust out his Eye with a Cane, and was hanged for the Murder.

MR. *Richard Baxter*, † an eminent Presbyterian Divine, who had refused the Bishopric of *Hereford* soon after the Restoration, and was equally remarkable for his Learning and Piety, was next to be punished. He was intended as a Sacrifice to the Church, and was tried the same Day with *Dangerfield* before *Jefferies*, at the King's Bench-Bar, on a Charge of Sedition, for reflecting on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, in his *Paraphrase on the New Testament*. The Jury were packed; and *Jefferies* treated the venerable Mr. *Baxter* with unparalleled Brutality, who was found guilty, sentenced to pay a Fine of 500 Marks, to lie in Prison till he paid it, and to be bound to his good Behaviour for seven Years: But, even *Echard* acknowledges, both the Usage and Sentence were generally thought exorbitant.

THE Court found it necessary to summon a Parliament; and all the State Engines were employed to have such a House of Commons as might be thoroughly compliant to the King. The two Parties were no longer equally formidable; as the *Whigs* were loaded with

N 3

Infamy,

* See this Vol. p. 204, † Ib. p. 52.

A. D. 1685. Infamy, on Account of the *Rye-house* Conspiracy. The late Reform of the Charters put it out of the Power of Numbers of Places to act otherwise than by the Direction of the Court. *Coke* says, that more Frauds and Violences were made use of in forming this Assembly than ever had been practised since the Parliament of the 21st of *Richard* the Second. And *Burnet* observes, that Complaints came from all Parts of *England*, of the Injustice and Violence used in Elections beyond what had been practised in former Times. While the exiled Duke of *Monmouth*, and Earl of *Argyle*, were concerting in *Holland* to raise a double Insurrection in *England* and *Scotland*; which proved fatal to both those Noblemen.

THE Parliament of *England* met, on the 19th of *May*; when the zealous Tories and Churchmen had greatly the Majority in the House of Commons, who elected Sir *John Trevor* their Speaker. The King made his Speech to both Houses on the 23d, wherein he repeated what he had before made use of to the Privy Council at his Accession; "which, says he, I have chose to do in the same Words; the better to evidence to you, that I spoke them not by Chance, and consequently that you may firmly rely upon a Promise so solemnly made. I cannot doubt, continues his Majesty, that I shall fail of suitable Returns from you, with all imaginable Duty and Kindness on your Part; and particularly to what relates to the settling of my Revenue, and continuing it during my Life, as it was in the Life Time of my Brother. * I might use many Arguments to enforce this demand for the Benefit of Trade, the Support of the Navy, the Necessity of the Crown, and the Well-being of the Government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious. There is one popular Argument, which I foresee, may be used against what I ask of you, from the Inclination Men have for frequent Parliaments, which some may think would be the best Security, by feeding me from Time to Time by such Proportions as they shall think convenient; and this Argument I will answer once for all, that

* See this Vol. p. 22.

that this would be a very improper Method to take ^{A. D.} with me; and that the best Way to engage me to meet ^{1685.} you often, is always to use me well." He then acquainted them, that he had News that Morning from *Scotland*, that *Argyle* was landed in the West Highlands, with the Men he brought with him from *Holland*; who had published two Declarations, charging him with Usurpation and Tyranny: But that he would take Care, this Declaration of their own Faction and Rebellion might meet with the Reward it deserved.

Mr. *North* says, this Speech was of his Majesty's own composing: But intimates, that Sir *Francis North*, Baron of *Guilford*, and Keeper of the Great Seal, had prepared a more florid Piece of Rhetoric for the Occasion, in Imitation of what had been spoke by the Earl of *Manchester* in 1660. The King talked more like a Dictator of *Rome*, than a Sovereign of *England*; and regarded Parliaments as only the Trappings of Government. They granted him his Request; without reflecting on the late Breach in the Constitution, the Violation of their own Privileges, or the Grievances of the Corporations. They also granted new Impositions on Tobacco and Sugar; at the same Time that they revived the Duties on Wines and Vinegar. Thus the present Parliament granted the King the yearly Revenue of 2,400,000 *l.* exclusive of the 150,000 *l.* a Year, which he enjoyed as Duke of *York*, and still retained. They promised to stand by his Majesty, with their Lives and Fortunes, against all Rebels and Traitors, and all others whatsoever, that should give them Assistance. They relied on the Royal Word to support and defend the Established Religion; though they professed it was dearer to them than their Lives. The King, indeed, afterwards recommended to them, the Care of the Navy; which, he said, was the Strength and Glory of the Nation: He assured them, he had a true *English* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as they could be; and that he pleased himself with the Hopes, that he might carry its Reputation yet higher in the World, than ever it had been in the Time of his Ancestors. Happy it would have been for the Nation, and

A. D 1685. glorious to himself, if he had adhered to these Professions; which were only fit for an *Edward* the Third, or an *Henry* the Fifth. The Parliament were at first too credulous: But it cannot be said, they ever lost Sight of the true Interest of the Commonwealth; since they refused to countenance his Designs, when they perceived his arbitrary Measures, and were therefore punished with a Dissolution in *July* 1687.

THE Earl of *Danby*, and the *Popish* Lords,* were entirely discharged, in Pursuance of a Warrant sent by the King to the Attorney-General, to enter a *Noli Prosequi* upon their Indictments. A Bill was also brought in by the Lords to reverse the Attainder of *William* Lord Viscount *Stafford*†: But it was dropt by the Commons after the second Reading; because they had no Intention of undermining their own Ground, by encouraging the Papists. However, the King made Use of his own Authority, in 1688, by creating *Mary* *Stafford*, Widow of the late beheaded Lord, Baroness and Countess of *Stafford*; and also by creating *Henry* *Stafford* *Howard*, her Son, Earl of *Stafford*.

JAMES Duke of *Monmouth*, who was banished *England* in 1683; and *Archibald* Earl of *Argyle*, who had fled from his cruel Condemnation in *Scotland*, in 1681, took Refuge in *Holland*, where the latter meditated an Insurrection to be made in *Scotland* on the Death of *Charles* the Second; and prevailed upon the Duke of *Monmouth* at the same Time to make an Invasion upon *England*. This Attempt was too prematurely and violently conducted to be attended with Success; for the Leaders were without Men, Money, or Assistance, any Thing like adequate to so dangerous an Undertaking.

WELWOOD says, *Monmouth* had come to a Resolution to live a retired Life, and not to give King *James* any Disturbance. The Duke himself acknowledged, that Ambition was mortified in him, and that he had no longer any Inclination to make a *Bustle in the World*:
But

* See this Vol. p. 198.

† Ibid. p. 202.

But the King followed him with Persecutions, and en-^{A. D.}
vied him the Air of *Holland*: So that *Monmouth* was ^{1685.}
precipitated into this Undertaking by *Argyle*; though
his Grace just before had sent Word to one of his
Friends in *England*, “ that he would run the Hazard of
being thought any Thing, rather than a rash inconfide-
rate Man.”

THE personal Interest of *Monmouth*, as the Head of
the Exclusionists; his great Reputation as a Soldier;
and his high Pretensions as a Prince of the Blood, whose
Legitimacy had been asserted, rendered him of great
Consequence in this Undertaking. *Argyle* had bor-
rowed 10,000*l.* and purchased some Arms; which
made him impatient to embark for *Scotland*: While
Monmouth was destitute of every Thing that had the least
Probability of Success; yet was prevailed upon to pro-
mise *Argyle* he would embark for *England*, within a few
Days after the Earl was landed in *Scotland*.

THE Earl of *Argyle*, and some other Fugitives, set
sail from the *Vly*, on the 2d of *May*, with three small
Vessels laden with Arms and Ammunition. They
landed at *Campbelton* in *Argyleshire*, and published two
Declarations to vindicate their Undertaking: Wherein
they insisted, that, by rescinding the *Solemn League and
Covenant*, all the Oaths since imposed were horrid Per-
jury: And declared against *James Duke of York's* Ac-
cession to the Throne, as being excluded from it by the
Commons of *England*. The Earl expected to be joined
by all his own Vassals; with great Numbers from the
South and West of *Scotland*, which had been cruelly op-
pressed, as was evident from their Insurrections and de-
feat at *Pentland-Hill* * and *Bothwell-Bridge* †. But he
could only assemble 2500 Men; while the Militia of
Scotland, consisting of 22,000, were in Arms, as well
as the regular Forces, who were marching against him
under the Command of the Duke of *Gordon*, the Mar-
quis of *Athol*, and other Noblemen. *Argyle* penetrated
into the Low-Countries, and was surrounded with Dif-

* See this Vol. p. 116.

† Ibid. p. 219.

A. D. 1685. difficulties, when he had the Misfortune to hear that his Reserve of Arms and Ammunition were seized in the Highlands. He was cut off from Provisions, and gradually deserted by most of his Followers, who were so closely pursued, that every Man thought only of providing for his own Safety. The *unfortunate Argyle* fled himself towards the *Clyde*, where he was taken Prisoner by a Countryman, and sent to *Edinburgh*, with all the Indignities that had been shewn to the noble Marquis of *Montrose**, for his Defence of the *Stewart* Family, in 1650. He was brought to the Scaffold, and executed thirteen Days after he was taken; which was about twenty-five Years after his Father † was beheaded for adhering to the Covenant, and his Head was fixed upon the *Tolbooth*. His Behaviour was truly noble; but the Insults of the Populace were meanly brutal; and he suffered upon the former Sentence, which had been unjustly passed upon him in 1681: Therefore, says *Bevil Higgons*, "this Nobleman was by much the most excusable, and most to be pitied, of any who drew a Sword in this Quarrel;" and yet *Higgons* is a profest Apologist for the *Stewartine* Family.

SOME *English* Fugitives followed the Fortune of *Argyle*; and some *Scotch* Adventurers followed *Monmouth*. Captain *Ayliffe*, Nephew to the late Chancellor *Clarendon*; and *Rumbald*, the famous Master of the *Rye-House* ‡, were taken and executed in *Scotland*. *Rumbald* was also charged with the *Rye-House* Conspiracy to kill his late Majesty; which he solemnly denied at his Trial, and at his Death, in a Manner that has done lasting Honour to his Memory, and proved that he had Spirit worthy of contending for the noble Stake of Liberty. No more Blood was shed in *Scotland* upon this Occasion: But all the Severity of Power, and Wantonness of Barbarity, were exercised on the unfortunate Insurgents in *England*.

THE

* See Vol. II. p. 300. † See this Vol. p. 42. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 235.

THE Duke of *Monmouth* was certainly the darling A. D. Son of King *Charles* the Second ; and, if that Monarch ^{1685.} had lived a few Weeks longer, would have been restored to his Favour. The Prince of *Orange* had shewn him great Respect : But was now obliged to retract his Civilities in Complaisance to his Father-in-Law ; which induced *Monmouth* to engage the sooner in the Insurrection with *Argyle*. The Duke was told by Lord *Grey*, that his Popularity would be an Over-match for the Power of the King : That the whole West of *England* would come in to his Assistance : And that he could not fail of being as successful as *Henry* the Seventh. It is certain, the more *Monmouth* was depressed by the Envy of his Uncle, the higher he rose in the Affections of the People* : But no Consultations had been made, and no Preparations taken, fit for such a bold and dangerous Enterprize.

THE Duke of *Monmouth* had only 83 Followers, which he embarked in one Ship of thirty-two Guns, and two Tenders. They were detained for some Days in the Mouth of the *Texel* ; but arrived safe at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*, on the 11th of *June*, and landed without Opposition ; though the King had several Cruisers at Sea to intercept this little Squadron. The Duke fell on his Knees as soon as he set Foot on Shore, and implored the Divine Protection. His Grace published a Declaration, “ For delivering the Nation from the Usurpation and Tyranny of *James Duke of York* ; wherein he was charged with corrupting of Parliaments ; the Burning of *London* ; the Breach of the Triple League ; the Popish Plot ; the seizing of Charters ; the Murder of the Earl of *Essex* ; the most unjust Condemnation of Lord *Russel* and Colonel *Sydney* ; the Breach of the Triennial Act ; and the poisoning the late King.” The Duke of *Monmouth* declared his Legitimate Right to the Crown : A Toleration was to be granted to all Protestants : Parliaments were to be annually held : The Militia regulated : And the Corporation-Act repealed.

* See this Vol. p. 214.

A. D. 1685. THE common People crouded to *Monmouth's* Standard in such Numbers, that he marched out of *Lime*, on the fourth Day after his Landing, at the Head of 2000 Foot, and 300 Horse. He proceeded to *Taunton*, where he met with a very popular Reception, and consented to have himself declared King, by the Name of *James the Second*, on the 20th of *June*. This was followed by Proclamations against his Uncle, and the Parliament; who were making the necessary Preparations to suppress the Insurrection.

THE Parliament granted King *James* 400,000 *l.* on this Occasion; attainted *Monmouth*; made it High-Treason to assert his Legitimacy; and set a Reward of 5000 *l.* upon his Head. The Duke of *Albemarle*, Son to him who had restored the Royal Family, headed the *Devonshire* Militia; and Lord *Churchill*, afterwards Duke of *Marlborough*, was at the Head of some regular Troops; while *Monmouth* entered *Bridge-water*, with his Army augmented to near 6000 Men, and was proclaimed King again. He only wanted Money and Arms to get Possession of the Kingdom: But, for Want of those Essentials, he was every Day obliged to dismiss thousands of the Populace, who crouded to his Ensigns. He was proclaimed a third Time, at *Wells*: But was intimidated from pushing on to *Bristol*, where he might have got Riches, Arms, and Stores. Admission was refused him at *Bath*; and a cordial Reception given him at *Froome*, where he received the News of *Argyle's* Defeat; which threw his Grace into Despair, as *Lewis Duras*, Earl of *Feversham*, was advancing towards him at the Head of a regular Army.

MONMOUTH retired with 5000 Men to *Bridge-water* on the 3d of *July*, and was immediately blocked up by *Feversham* with 2000 Foot and 700 Horse, who encamped at *Sedgemoor* within three Miles of the Town, and were kept in such Irregularity, that *Monmouth* determined to attack his Enemy in the Night. He had formed an excellent Plan, and imprudently entrusted the Execution of a principal Part of it to Lord *Grey*, who advanced with the Horse to begin the Attack about

about Midnight on the 6th, and lost all by cowardly A. D. running away from the Out-Guards of the Royalists, ^{1685.} without striking a Blow. *Monmouth* gallantly led on his undisciplined Infantry, who bravely opposed the veteran Soldiers, till *Grey* prevailed upon *Monmouth* to quit the Field, and every thing was thrown into Confusion. The Royalists had about 400 Men killed; and the Rebels lost about 1500 in the Battle and the Pursuit, as also about 1000 taken Prisoners

THUS ended a romantic Kind of Invasion, scarce paralleled in History. The unhappy *Monmouth* fled as precipitately from *Sedgemoor*, as the great *Pompey* from *Pharsalia*: Like the Marquis of * *Montrose*, he changed Cloaths with a Peasant, and was found in a Ditch covered over with Fern, oppressed with Fatigue, and fainting for want of Sustenance. He was brought to Lord *Lumley*, conducted to *London*, and lodged in the *Tower*; with Lord *Grey*, and Count *Horn*, a *German*, who had embarked in the Expedition. The Duke solicited for his Life, and the King ordered him to be brought into his Presence; though he was determined his Blood should pay for his Rebellion: So that this was one Exception against a general Rule observed inviolably by Kings, "never to allow a Criminal under the Sentence of Death, the Sight of his Prince's Face, without a Design to pardon him." He was ordered for Execution, in Virtue of the Bill of Attainder; and was led to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, about ten in the Morning, on the 15th of *July*, attended by Bishop *Tennison*, and Bishop *Hooper*, who were sent by the Court, and vainly persuaded him to acknowledge the *Doctrine of Non-resistance*. The Spectators were very numerous, and expressed their Sorrow with a general Murmur of Sighs and Groans; while the Bishops uncharitably interrupted his Grace by pressing him to own a Detestation of his Rebellion. *Monmouth* said, "I will make no Speeches; I came to die." He gave the Executioner Six Guineas; with a Caution, that he would not serve him as he had done Lord *Russel*: "For, said he, I have heard you struck

* See Vol. II. p. 300.

A. D. 1685. struck him three or four Times ; and, if you strike me twice, I cannot promise you not to stir." He refused to have a Cap over his Eyes : Felt the Ax, and said he feared it was not sharp enough : Then laid himself down on the Block, with a Fortitude that astonished the Executioner, and made him fall into the very Error which the Duke had cautioned him to avoid ; whereby the Execution was a Butchery. The first Blow so slightly wounded the Duke, that he lifted up his Head, and looked the Executioner in the Face, as if he would reproach him for making his Death painful. He then gently laid down his Head a second Time ; when the Executioner struck him again, and again, as ineffectually as at first : Upon which, he threw down his Ax in a Fit of Horror, crying out, " he could not finish his Work." The Sheriff obliged him to take up the fatal Weapon again ; and at two Strokes more he made a Shift to separate the Head from the Body.

In this Manner perished the Duke of *Monmouth*, when he was 36 Years of Age. He declared, the Title of King was put upon him : That the late King was never married to his Mother : And recommended his Children to the Royal Mercy. He seemed to be born to a better Fate ; as he was brave, generous, and affable ; easy in his Nature, but fond of popular Applause ; constant in his Friendships, just to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all sort of Cruelty. His Designs were noble, and directed for the Good of his Country. He had been Captain General of the *English* Army ; was the Idol of the People ; and had like to have decided the Fortune of *England* at a single Blow. He shewed a Spirit of Ambition in his Life, and a great Tranquility of Mind at his Death ; when he behaved like a Christian, a Philosopher, and a Soldier.

THE Insurrection made by the Duke of *Monmouth*, was like that made by the Duke of *Lancaster* in 1399. They were both of the Royal Blood, and were both banished. *Lancaster* landed with only 80 Men at *Raven-spur* in *Yorkshire* ; and *Monmouth* landed with the same Number at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*. They were both good Soldiers ;

Soldiers; for *Lancaster* had distinguished himself in A. D. *Germany*, and *Monmouth* in the *Netherlands*. They were ^{1685.} also both beloved by the People; and if *Monmouth* had acted like *Lancaster*, by seizing upon *Bristol*, or if he had been joined like him by some of the Nobility, he might have dispossessed *James* of the Crown, and been esteemed the *Deliverer* of his Country like *Lancaster*. * But *Monmouth* paved the Way for the Prince of *Orange*, who deposed his Father-in-law *James* the Second, as the Duke of *Lancaster* had deposed his Cousin *Richard* the Second: And both those Monarchs were legally dethroned, when they attempted to govern like Tyrants.

THE Defeat of *Monmouth* might have been serviceable to the Court; but the cruel Persecution of his unhappy Followers rendered the Government odious. The Fugitives were started out of the Bushes by the Soldiers, and shot for Diversion: While the Prisoners were butchered by military Execution, under *Kirk*; or barbarously executed by a Form of Law, under *Jefferies*.

THE Earl of *Feverham* was a Protestant, and Brother of the Marshals *Duras* and *De Lorge*; as also Nephew to the glorious *Turenne*; and it might have been expected, that a Man of such high Blood, might have had some Nobleness of Nature; instead of playing the Tyrant over a Body of scattered unresisting Wretches: But, as soon as the Victory was over, he tied his Prisoners together like Slaves, and hanged several of them on a Sign-post that stood across the Road. The Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* told him this was Murder in the Law, and that he might be called to an Account for it; which made him desist from this way of arbitrary Execution, unknown among polite Nations, and especially to Officers of *French* Extraction.

As for Colonel *Kirk*, and Chief Justice *Jefferies*, they were Brutes in their Nature; and no Mercy could be expected from their Ferocity, when they were set on by the Court as the Bull-dogs of Murder upon a feeble Herd of Sheep. *Kirk* had served at *Tangiers*, and had contracted

* See Vol. I. p. 323.

A. D. contracted more Inhumanity from the *Moors*, than *Dalziel* * had from the *Muscovites*; and he cruelly continued what *Feverham* had shamefully began. He caused 19 to be hanged as soon as he entered *Bridgewater*; and Thirty more shared the same Fate at *Taunton*; while the Military Music was sounded by way of Merriment. A young Girl threw herself at the Feet of this Monster, to implore for the Life of her Brother: Her Beauty and Innocence for a while softened him into Humanity; and he promised to grant her Request, at the Price of her Virtue; which she Sacrificed to his Lust; and then had the Mortification to see her Brother hanging on a Gibbet erected before the Window, which deprived the injured Creature of her Senses. The whole Country was exposed to the Ravages of this Barbarian, who let loose the Soldiers to live on free Quarters, as had been done in the West of *Scotland*; and he distinguished his own Regiment by the Name of *his Lambs*, because they exceeded the Rest in their Wickedness; which makes them remembered to this Day with Horror, and particularly in the West of *England*.

JEFFERIES was a *Welchman*; without Honour or Conscience: impudent to the last Degree; ever ready to betray his Duty, the Interests of Justice, and Honour of the Kingdom, to recommend himself to those who were in Power: by which means, he had been made Chief Justice of *Chester*, was now Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and soon became Lord Chancellor. Mr. *Booth*, Representative for *Chester*, and afterwards Earl of *Warrington*, told the House of Commons in 1681, "that *Jefferies* behaved himself more like a Jack-pudding, than with the Gravity that be-seemed a Judge; that he was mighty witty upon the Prisoners, and full of Jokes; that he kept late Hours, and went generally Drunk to his Chamber." His Behaviour to the Persons who suffered for the Protestant Plot, shewed that he delighted in Blood; and he was sent down with four assistant Judges, on a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to try the Rebel Prisoners

* See this Vol. p. 117.

ners in the West; where he sported with Lives, and A. D. 1685. satiated his Cruelty.

THIS Barbarian of Law was also empowered to command the Army in the West; and began his savage Harvest at *Winchester*, on the Lady *Lisle*, whose Husband * had been Lord Keeper to *Oliver Cromwell*, and was assassinated by three desperate *Irishmen* at *Lau-sanne*. She was a Woman of great Piety and Charity; was much affected with the Death of King *Charles* the First; and was now past Seventy Years of Age, when she was indicted for harbouring *John Hicks*, a Nonconformist Minister, who had served under *Monmouth*. The aged Prisoner affirmed, she had sent her Son to fight against the Rebels; and that she had no Kind of Information that *Hicks* had been in the Rebellion. *Jefferies*, himself, turned Witness against her; and said, he was not to be moved by Age, or Sex. He had the astonishing Assurance, to tell the Jury, it was equally Treason to harbour a Traitor before Conviction, as it was after. The Jury were strongly inclined to Mercy; and twice brought the Prisoner in Not-guilty; which threw *Jefferies* into such a Transport of Rage, that he threatened them with an Attaint of Jury; and intimidated them so much, that they brought her in Guilty at last. She was condemned to be burnt, as the Law directs in the Case of Women convict of Treason: But the King changed her Sentence to Beheading: Which is somewhat strange, since he thereby allowed her the Privilege of the Nobility, that she had derived from *Cromwell*. The Earl of *Fewersham* was promised 1000 *l.* to obtain her Pardon: But the King told him, he had promised *Jefferies* that she should be executed, which was accordingly done; and her Behaviour at her Death, was worthy the Piety of her Life.

HICKS and *Nelthorp* were among the *Rye-house* † Conspirators; and were executed accordingly: But *Nelthorp*, as well as *Rumbald*, denied the Design of assassinating the late, and present King.

THE

* See this Vol. p. 84.

† See this Vol. p. 235.

A. D. 1685. THE Judges proceeded to *Dorchester*, with a Train of Guards and Prisoners at their Heels ; which made the King call it *Jefferies's Campaign*. The Commission was opened on the 5th of *September*, when Twenty-nine Rebels were found guilty, who were executed three Days after, for their Obstinacy in standing a Trial, and not throwing their Lives on his Mercy ; which terrified the other Prisoners, who made a Confession of their Guilt, and reduced the Business of the Court to little more than the single Article of Condemnation. No less than 292 received Sentence together, and about Eighty were executed as Traitors, whose Heads and Limbs were distributed all over the County.

THE next Stage was at *Exeter*, where another red List of 243 Persons was laid before *Jefferies*, who assigned them over in a Body to the Executioner, with a savage Kind of Joy, and many of them were executed. His Arrival at *Taunton* struck all the Inhabitants with Terror ; and he indicated a Desire of depopulating the Place, by a common Carnage, without Regard to Law or Justice. About 500 were tried at this Place and *Wells*, most of whom were condemned, and many executed ; after which, *Jefferies* made *Bristol* tremble at his cruel Visitation.

IN his Charge to the Grand Jury of *Bristol*, he told them, “ there were in this City, a great many of those Men which they call † *Trimmers*. A Whig is but a meer Fool to these ; for a Whig is some sort of a Subject in Comparison of these ; for a *Trimmer* is but a cowardly and base spirited Whig ; for the Whig is but the Journeyman or Apprentice, that is hired and set on in the Rebellion, whilst the *Trimmer* is afraid to appear in the Cause. Good God ! where am I ? In *Bristol* ? This City it seems claims the Privilege of hanging and drawing amongst themselves : I find you have more need of a Commission once a Month at least ; for I hear the Trade of *Kidnapping* is much in Request in this City ; and expect every Constable to bring in his Presentment, or that you present him.” *Bristol* had not actually opened its Gates to *Monmouth* ; but seemed so well disposed

† See this Vol. p. 232.

disposed for it, that *Jefferies* was resolved to make some A. D. Examples, even on the Mayor and Aldermen them- 1685. selves, who were presented as *Kidnappers*; because he could not glut his Vengeance on the *Trimmers*, for want of Law to make Moderation pass for Treason. He drove the Magistrates from the Bench to the Bar; and vilified them as the basest Criminals, though robed in Fur and Scarlet. He triumphed in humbling their Pride, and in extorting Money for their Redemption, as well as for the Pardon of many others in different Places, where he had been seen with the Scythe of Death by his Side, instead of the Sword of Justice in his Hand.

THE Blood-hound *Jefferies* marked his Circuit with so much Slaughter, that it was commonly called the *Bloody Assize*; for out of the Legion he condemned, no less than 251 were executed, besides those destroyed in cold Blood by *Feversham* and *Kirk*. *Burnet* says, that *Jefferies* hanged about 600 Persons; and behaved like a Bashaw in *Turky* to some of the Well-affected Nobility and Gentry, who pleaded in favour of some of the Prisoners. The Church Steeples, Town Gates, and High-Roads, were stuck round with the Heads and Limbs of Traitors, to shock their surviving Friends, and perpetuate his Cruelty. The most eminent of those who suffered were *Holmes*, *Temple*, *Annesley*, *Tyler*, *Speake*, *Battiscombe*, and the two *Hewlings*; who had all acted as Officers at *Sedgmoor*, and behaved with great Bravery, which they supported to the last.

LORD Grey was pardoned; but compounded for his Life with his Estate, which was given to Lord *Rochester*; in the same Manner as Sir *John Cockran*'s was given to the Priests about Court for his being concerned with *Argyle*; and this was what had been done to Lord *Cobham** in 1603. Sir *Hugh Campbel* was also deprived of his Estate in *Scotland*; and Mr. *Prideaux* lost his in *England*. Many other Persons compounded for their Liberty at the Expence of all their Property; and those who

* See Vol. II p. 174.

A. D. who had nothing worthy the Name of a Bribe, were
 1685. transported to the Plantations.

THE King was daily acquainted with the barbarous Proceedings of *Jefferies*; and kept the Seals, as a Reward for him, on the Death of the Lord Keeper, which happened while the Chief Justice was in the midst of his Campaign. *Jefferies* was the Man who persuaded many of the Corporations to surrender their Charters; and he was the Monster who butchered his Countrymen for adhering to their beloved *Monmouth*. He returned to *London* in a Kind of Triumph, where he was made Lord High Chancellor, and Baron of *Wem* in the County of *Salop*; which was a Piece of Vanity; that he might not seem inferior in Honours to Chancellor *Egerton*, who was created Baron of *Ellesmere* in the same County by *James* the First, to which Honour he was intitled by his Merit.

KING *Alfred* put 44 Judges * to Death in one Year, for not doing Justice. *Hubert de Burgh*, † and *Tresilian*, ‡ were as remarkable for their Cruelties, in the Reigns of *Henry* the Third, and *Richard* the Second, as *Jefferies* was in the Reign of *James* the Second; for which *Tresilian* was hanged at *Tyburn*, and the Rest of the Judges were banished to *Ireland*, || by the Sentence of Parliament. *Empson* § and *Dudley* were hanged for their Severity to the People, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth. But *Jefferies* transcended them all in Cruelty, and even exceeded ¶ *Ashton* in Iniquity; for which he was severely treated by the Mob in 1688, and died in the *Tower*, with an eternal Load of Infamy on his Memory.

THE King was greatly elated on the Suppression of these Rebellions: For the Exclusionists were curbed beyond Resistance; the People were awed; and nothing but Compliance was expected from the Parliament. It was not only in the *Western* Counties that the
 King

* See Vol. I. p. 123. † *Ibid.* p. 258. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 320. || *Ibid.* p. 321. § See Vol. II. p. 32. ¶ See Vol. I. p. 397.

King gave Proofs of his revengeful Temper: For A. D. *Gerrard Lord Brandon*, Son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, ^{1685.} was convicted at the King's Bench Bar, of being concerned in the *Rye-house* Plot, on the Evidence of Lord *Grey*, who acted an under-part to Lord * *Howard*. Mr. *Hampden* † was also brought on his Trial again for the *Rye-house* Plot, and persuaded to plead Guilty. Both *Brandon* and *Hampden* were pardoned, but the latter despised that Life he had meanly begged, and violently put an End to it, by cutting his Throat, ten Years afterwards. Mrs. *Elizabeth Gaunt* was burnt, and six Men hanged, at *Tyburn*, because they had secreted some of the Rebels. Alderman *Cornish*, who had been Sheriff of *London* at the Time of the Discovery of the *Popish* Plot, and had been very active on that Occasion, was now hurried to *Newgate*, indicted for being concerned in the *Rye-house* Plot, with Lord *Russel*, and condemned upon the Evidence of the same Witnesses. He was executed, on the 23d of *October*, in the Heart of the City, almost before his own Door, and in Sight of *Guild-hall*; when he asserted his Innocence with great Vehemence, and complained of the Methods taken for his Destruction. His Quarters were set on *Guild-hall*, to terrify his Fellow Citizens: But the Falshood of the Evidence appeared soon after his Death; on which his Estate was restored to his Family, and his Sentence was reversed by the Parliament in 1688. Mr. *Charles Bateman*, an eminent Surgeon, was also condemned for the Protestant Plot, and suffered Death, when he was disordered in his Senses.

HENRY Booth, Lord *Delamere*; and *Thomas Grey*, Earl of *Stamford*, had been committed to the *Tower* on a general Charge of Treason. Lord *Delamere* was tried by his Peers, in *Westminster-hall*, for being concerned in the *Rye-house* Plot, and the late Rebellion. The Court was composed of 29 Lords, and *Jefferies* acted as Lord High Steward. The Lords *Howard* and *Grey*, with ten other Witnesses, were produced against the noble

* See this Vol. p. 135. † Ibid. p. 240.

A. D. noble Prisoner, who made his Defence, against such mer-
 cenary Evidence, with so much *Roman Spirit*, and *Attic Elo-*
 cution, that he was unanimously acquitted, and in 1690,
 created Earl of *Warrington*; while *Saxon*, the principal
 Evidence, was severely punished for his Perjury. The
 Earl of *Stamford* benefited by the Acquittal of Lord
Delamere, and was admitted to Bail; after which he
 obtained a special Pardon, in Pursuance of a general
 one, that was published at the Beginning of the next
 Year. But the general Pardon was a Matter of little
 Grace, as 138 Persons were particularly excepted; and
 it was rather a Kind of Specification of those who were
 still to be started by Informers, and run down by the
 Laws. From the Rigour of these Executions, it was
 evident, that the King intended to rule more by Fear
 than Love: His two greatest Enemies were destroyed;
 the Whigs were suppressed, by a Spirit of Persecution;
 and the whole Kingdom were struck with Terror at
 the Revenge which the King shewed to his Enemies.

THE ill-concerted Expeditions of *Argyle* and *Mon-*
mouth, made the King imagine he was so firmly esta-
 blished on the Throne, that he might attempt to go-
 vern like a Tyrant. He presumed, that the Parlia-
 ment of *England* would bend before him; and like the
 Parliament of *Paris*, content themselves with the Ho-
 nour of receiving his Commands, and registering his
 Edicts. It was the great Misfortune of his Majesty to
 mistake Power for Happiness; and to infer from thence,
 that the best Use he could make of this favourable
 Crisis, was, to provide for the Establishment of his own
 Grandeur, by increasing the Terrors of his Govern-
 ment; instead of meriting the Esteem, and capti-
 vating the Affections of his Subjects. He had increas-
 ed the Number of Forces left by his Brother to 15000
 Men, which he thought would enable him to bow his
 People soon to his Yoke; while he set his Heart on
 the Repeal of the *Tests*. The two Projects, of esta-
 blishing an arbitrary Government, and destroying the
 Protestant Religion, had been long concerted: But,
 while the King was taking the best Measures to exe-
 cute

cute his Designs, the Parliament became sensible of their Error, and exerted themselves in the Defence of their Liberties, their Laws, and Religion. A. D.
1685.

THE Earl of *Arlington* died in *July*, who was succeeded by the Earl of *Mulgrave* as Lord-Chamberlain; and Sir *Edward Herbert* was made Lord Chief-Justice of the *King's-Bench*, in the Room of *Jefferies*.

THE Parliament of *England*, after several Adjournments from the 2d of *July*, assembled again on the 9th of *November*, when the King made a Speech from the Throne to both Houses, wherein he told them, "That when he reflected what an inconsiderable Number of Men begun the late Rebellion, and how long they carried it on without any Opposition, he hoped, every Body would be convinced, that the Militia, which had been so much depended on, was not sufficient for such Occasions; and that there was nothing but a good Force of well disciplined Troops in constant Pay that could defend them, from such as either at Home or Abroad were disposed to disturb them." He apologized for the Augmentation of the Army; and not only required a Supply answerable to the Expences, which were more than doubled; but desired the additional Troops might be continued. After which, he said, "Let no Man take Exception, that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late *Test* for their Employment: The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me, and I think them fit to be employed under me; and will deal plainly with you, that, after having had the Benefit of their Services, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor myself to the Want of them."

THIS Speech was like a Thunder-clap to the Parliament, and terrified the People, who valued themselves so much upon their Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the *Constitution* of their Government, and the solemn repeated Promises of their Prince. They found, too late, that their Fears, in the former Reign, of a Popish Successor, were too well grounded; and were now sensible how inconsistent a

Roman

A. D. 1685. *Roman Catholic King is with a Protestant Kingdom. No Part of the English Constitution was in itself more sacred, or better secured by Law, than that by which "Roman Catholics were declared incapable of Places of Trust either Civil or Military in the Government :"* And the King himself, when Duke of *York*, was obliged by the *Test-Act* * to lay down his Office of Lord High-Admiral, even at a Time, says *Welwood*, when he had not owned his Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome* ; in which the Doctor was mistaken †. But his Majesty was now determined to dispense with this Act, in a much more extraordinary Manner than his Brother ‡ wanted that Power in 1663 : For *Charles* knew that it could not be easily supported, till the Government of *England* was as absolute as that in *Turky*.

THE Manner of the Speech was sufficiently shocking to those who retained any Sentiments of Liberty ; for it gave an absolute Law, and destroyed all Freedom of Debate. Many of those who had most warmly opposed the Exclusion-Bill began to open their Eyes, and to favour those Principles which the Whigs had adopted against a Popish Successor in the late Reign. The Marquis of *Halifax* told the Lords, " They had now more Reason than ever to give Thanks to his Majesty, since he had dealt so plainly with them, and discovered what he would be at." *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, moved that a Day might be appointed to take the King's Speech into Consideration ; and it was said, the *Test* was the best Fence they had for their Religion : If they gave up so strong a Fence, all the rest would soon follow ; and if the King, by his Authority, might supercede such a Law, it was in vain to think of Law any more.

THE House of Commons consisted chiefly of Tory Members, who had formerly opposed the Whigs by declaring for Passive Obedience and Non-resistance ; which Doctrine they introduced, because they then conceived

* See this Vol. p. 176, 177, 181, and 205. † *Ibid.*

p. 151. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 77, 78, and 149.

conceived the Royal Prerogative could not be too far extended against their Adversaries: But they now thought that the whole Fabric of the Protestant Religion would be subverted by capacitating Papists to serve in the State or the Army.

A. D.
1685.

THE Whigs moved for new modelling the Militia; and yet a Supply of 700,000*l.* was granted for the Support of the Army. The Affair of the Popish Officers concerned both Whig and Tory; and both concurred in setting some Bounds to Passive Obedience, by presenting an Address to his Majesty, wherein they represented, the Illegality and Danger of dispensing with the Test-Act: But offered a Bill to indemnify the Popish Officers from the Penalties they had already incurred. The King was so much offended at this Address, that he was influenced to part with this his first and only Parliament in Displeasure, upon the fourth Day after they had presented the Address; and this Prorogation was followed by four others during eighteen Months, when a Dissolution ensued, and the King shewed his Intention of governing without Parliaments.

THE Protestant Divines revived their Polemical Books and Sermons against Popery; which also revived the Horrors that the People entertained of that Religion, who shuddered to hear of the Persecutions that were at this Time committed upon the Protestants of *France*. Henry the Fourth had obtained his Crown by the Assistance of the *Huguenots*; and, after he had abandoned *Calvinism*, he granted them the famous Edict of *Nantes*, in 1598; by which they were to be perpetually and irrevocably allowed the Toleration of their Religion, and capacitated for enjoying the several Offices and Dignities of the State. The *Huguenots* established Circles in *France*, in Imitation of those in *Germany*; and commenced a Civil War against *Lewis* the Thirteenth, in which they were assisted by the King of *England* *. This has made even the generous *Voltaire* call them rebellious Heretics; which is an Epithet

VOL. III.

O

too

* See Vol. II. p. 298.

A. D. too severe for an Historian of his tender Humanity.
 1685. The *Huguenots* were obliged to submit ; and the Toleration granted them by the Edict of *Nantes*, was greatly abridged by the Edict of Grace granted by *Lewis* the Thirteenth. Their Privileges were more confined by *Lewis* the Fourteenth ; who began to dragoon these unfortunate People out of their Liberty, and totally revoked the Edict of *Nantes* in October 1685 ; which completed the Ruin of the Protestant Cause in *France*, where the Banishment of the *Huguenots* followed their domestic Persecution. The *French* Protestants became Refugees in most Parts of *Europe*, and near 50,000 Families left *France* in less than three Years, who introduced their Arts, Manufacturers, and Riches among Strangers. *England* benefited by the Loss of *France* ; and *Spittalsfields* in *London* was peopled entirely with *French* Manufacturers in Silk, which soon became an important Article of the *English* Trade. Persecution never fails to make Profelites ; and the Refugees considered themselves as Martyrs. Five hundred thousand abandoned *France* ; and fifty thousand came to *England* : While those who remained in their native Country retained a Spirit of Resentment, that produced a Rebellion in the War of 1701. Bishop *Burnet* resided in *France* during this Persecution, which he says, “ was one of the most violent that is to be found in History ; and, in many Respects, it exceeded them all, both in the several Inventions of Cruelty, and in its long Continuance.” The *French* Monarch had sent the Marshal *d’Humiers* to congratulate the King of *England* on his Establishment in the Throne ; and the Conduct of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, seems to be regulated by that of *James* the Second, who had now convinced the *Roman Catholic* Princes that he was entirely their own, and encouraged them to oppress their Protestant Subjects. The Duke of *Savoy* also recalled the Edict that his Father had granted to the * *Vaudois* ; And the Dominions of the Elector Palatine were transferred to the House of

* See Vol. II. p. 368.

of *Newburg*; which was another considerable Blow to the Protestant Interest. A. D. 1655.

THE King might have plainly seen, how little he could rely on the Professors of *Passive Obedience*; who would interpret the Doctrine of Resistance in a limited Sense, when they found their Liberty and Religion in Danger. However, he obstinately persisted in the Execution of his two grand Projects, till he plunged himself into insuperable Difficulties. He arbitrarily established a Liberty of Conscience in *Scotland*; and his Will was regarded as a Law in *Ireland*, where the Army was new modelled by the composing it entirely of *Papists*. The Earl of *Murray* was Lord High Commissioner in *Scotland*: But could not eradicate the Sense of Liberty among his Countrymen. *Talbot*, created Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and a rank *Papist*, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who thought of nothing less than a total Extirpation of the Protestant Religion in that Kingdom; and proceeded with such Severity, that many Persons were obliged to seek Protection in *England*, where the King chiefly intended to establish Popery and Tyranny. A. D. 1686.

THE Parliament might have submitted to arbitrary Power; but they could not be so compliant as to abandon the Interest of their Religion. Doctor *Cartwright*, asserted in the Pulpit, "that the Royal Promises were free Donatives;" and the King rewarded him with the Bishopric of *Chester*, in the same Manner as his Father had rewarded Doctor * *Manwaring*. His Majesty was resolved to dispense with the Laws, and to load the *Papists* with Favours, in Contempt of the *Exclusionists*. The *Test-Act* was the Barrier of the established Religion; and, however the Prerogative of a dispensing Power might be asserted in former Times upon less popular Occasions, the People considered the Dispensation of such an Act as a Repeal; which would leave the *Constitution* open to every violent Attack, and unhinge the whole frame of Government. Therefore,

O 2

Wel-wood

A. D 1686. *Welwood* says, " the King, in arrogating to himself such a Dispensing Power, invaded the very Essence of the *English Constitution*, by which the Legislature is lodged in King, Lords, and Commons; and every one of them has a Negative upon the other two."

CHARLES the Second cancelled his Declaration of Indulgence; with a Promise, that it should never be drawn into Example or Consequence. But *James* the Second, after placing his Foot in so dirty a Path, would wilfully continue a Journey that brought him to his Ruin. Nor was it enough for the King to assume this *dispensing Power*: But the Party about him declared, " that a Power in the King to dispense with Law, was Law:" While a Set of Judges were found out to maintain this monstrous Position, who, to their eternal Reproach, endeavoured to compliment the King with the Liberties of their Country.

THE King endeavoured to soften the refractory Members of both Houses, by condescending to try the Force of his own Royal Rhetoric upon several of them in his own Closet; from whence the Term of CLOSETTING took its Rise: But the Members retained their Integrity; and the King had the Mortification to find, that they shunned the Breath of Majesty, as the Air of Contagion, when it polluted the Face of Liberty.

His Majesty had promised to govern according to Law; and the Judges were now to maintain, that he might legally dispense with the *Test Acts*, in favour of the *Roman Catholics*, by Virtue of his Prerogative. This was a flimsy Piece of Jesuitical Sophistry; and the old Judges were *Closetted* to give it their Sanction, and render *Westminster-hall* entirely at the Devotion of the King. Four of the Judges thought it illegal; and others of a more ductile Nature were appointed in their Room; who, on the 21st of *July*, met in *Westminster-hall*, to determine the grand Case of Dispensation; when the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert* publicly pronounced, that eleven out of the twelve Judges were of Opinion, that the King could dispense with the *Penal*

*nal Statute * of the 25th of Charles the Second for prevent-A. D.
ing Dangers from Popish Recusants, on these Grounds. 1686.*

"That the Laws of England are the King's Laws : That it is an inseparable Prerogative of the Kings of England, to dispense with all penal Laws in particular Cases, and upon particular necessary Reasons : That of those Reasons, and those Necessities, the King is the sole Judge. And That consequently this is not a Trust invested in, or granted to, the King ; but the ancient Remains of the Sovereign Power, and Prerogative, of the Kings of England, which never was yet taken from them, or can be." This scandalous Perversion of Law, seemed at one Blow to Ruin the whole Constitution ; as it permitted Papists to enjoy Places of Office and Trust in a Protestant Nation ; which, as Judge *Atkins* observed, was to commit the Lamb to the Custody of the Wolf.

DISPENSATIONS came originally from *Rome*, and were first adopted in *England* by *Henry* the Third, who used them only in his own private Concerns ; nor was it till much later Times that they were stretched to Cases which concerned the whole Realm ; because the Penal Statutes were originally intended to arm the Prince with additional Authority, for the general Safety of the Government. The hireling Judges were taught to compliment *Henry* the Seventh with a Part of this dispensing Power ; which the present Sett of Judges wanted entirely to convey to *James* the Second. The People had a contemptible Opinion of these mean Sages of the Law, and thought they were fallen under the greatest Misfortune that could possibly happen to a Nation ; by having their Laws and Constitution trampled upon under Colour of Law : While those very Men whose Office it was to support them, became the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince. But this dispensing Doctrine, after it had involved the Nation in great Misfortunes, was exploded by the *Bill of Rights*,

O 3

* See this Vol. p. 176.

A. D. *Rights*, and a new System established by the Revolution.
1686.

IN Consequence of this Division, the Papal Flag was let fly all over the Kingdom; and the Church of *England* had but a precarious Title to the National Church. Five Popish Lords were admitted into the Privy Council: One *Roman Catholic* was appointed a Judge; and several others were made Serjeants at Law. Four Popish Bishops were publicly consecrated in the Royal Chapel, and sent down to their respective Dioceses, under the Title of Vicars Apostolical. The Monks swarmed in their Habits about Court; and said, they should soon walk in Procession through *Cheapside*. The Jesuits were permitted to erect Colleges and Seminaries in most of the considerable Towns: And the only way to Preferment was to be a Papist, or a Promoter of Popery. Thus *James* the Second, by the Collusion of his Judges, shook the Foundation of the established Religion; in the same Manner as his Father *Charles* the First got them to decide the Affair of *Ship-Money*, * in his Favour: But as the one lost his Life, so the other lost his Crown, by acting up to the Spirit of that Illegality which the prostitute Judges, like the *Delphic Priestesses* of old, pronounced to be the Oracles of Law.

THE King trod in the Steps of *Queen Mary*, † who suppressed the Rebellion of *Wyat* and *Stafford*, as easily as *James* the Second had done those of *Monmouth* and *Argyle*; who were treated with the same Cruelty as *Mary* shewed to *Lady Jane Gray* and *Lord Guilford Dudley*. *Mary* began her Persecution, by prohibiting the Protestant Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; and this Example was also followed by *James* the Second. If *Mary* had ‡ *Cranmer*, *Hooper*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Ferrar*, *Rogers*, and *Saunders*, to oppose her bloody Designs; *James* also found zealous Protestants in *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tennison*, *Wake*, *Patrick*,
Sharp,

* See Vol. II. p. 215. † Ibid. p. 93, 97, 99.

‡ Ibid. p. 104.

Sharp, and *Sherlock*, who elegantly supported the established Religion, and the Necessity of the Reformation; A. D. 1686. for which they were afterwards deservedly promoted to the first Dignities of the Church. Besides these, there were *Williams*, *Claget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, and *Hooper*, who examined all the Points of Popery with a Solidity of Judgment, a Clearness of Argument, a Depth of Learning, and a Vivacity of Writing, far beyond any Thing that had appeared before in the *English* Language. But *Mary* erected an Inquisition * like that in *Spain*; and *James* by the Advice of *Jefferies*, erected a new Court, under the Name of a *Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs*, to compel the Protestant Clergy to Submission; which *Welwood* calls a *New Court of Inquisition*; and says, it was another manifest Violation of the Laws. The King exerted his Supremacy so far, that his Royal Edict was expressly declared to be in Force, "any laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary notwithstanding;" it being plainly intended for the Ruin of the Church of *England*, and to make Way for the Re-establishment of Popery, by introducing it into Universities.

THIS new Ecclesiastical Court was composed of various Members; among whom were, *Crew* Bishop of *Durham*, *Cartwright* Bishop of *Chester*, and *Sprat* Bishop of *Rocheſter*; Chancellor *Jefferies*, and the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Sunderland*; with Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*. They were invested with very arbitrary and extraordinary Powers, contrary to the Act passed in the Year 1640, for abolishing the High † Commission Court; and they soon shewed their Authority by suspending Doctor *Sharp*, Rector of *St. Giles's* in the Fields; and Doctor *Henry Compton*, Bishop of *London*; the former for vindicating the Church of *England* in his Sermons, which was called Sedition; and the latter, for not suspending him, in Pursuance of an Order from the King, which was called Contumacy. This extrajudicial Suspension of so illustrious a Prelate as *Compton*,
O 4. was

* See Vol. II. p. 107. † *Ibid.* p. 222.

A. D. 1686. was a general Stab at all the Protestant Ministers; while the King and his Priests were busily employed in gaining Proselytes to the *Romish* Religion. But this Stretch of the Supremacy, so contrary to Law, was assumed by a King, whose Religion made him condemn all Supremacy that the Law had invested in the Crown. As the Regiment of the Law had unjustifiably supported the Prerogative; the Military Legions were to bridle their fellow Subjects. For this Purpose the Army was encamped, early in the Summer, on *Hounslow-Heath*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverham*; and a Chapel was erected in the Camp, where Mass was every Day publicly celebrated. The Popish Missionaries were let loose among the Soldiers, to corrupt them with a Belief of implicit Obedience to the Royal Command, upon any Occasion: And the Martial-Law was held over their Heads; though Courts of that Nature were till then unknown to the *English Constitution*. Some Patriots thought they might legally resist an illegal Force: But the Seeds of Liberty could not suddenly shoot up under so inclement a Sky; and it was necessary to wait for a kinder Season, when the Sun of Freedom was gloriously to cast out its Rays, and dissipate the Gloom.

THE Laity were no more to be feared; nor the Dissenters persecuted: Popery was appearing; and the Church was in Danger: So that the Pulpits no longer rang with implicit Obedience, and it was thought just to make Religion wrestle with the Prerogative; while the King favoured the Dissenters, that he might more securely aggrandize the Papists. Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, formerly Chaplain to the late Lord *Russel*, and Author of *Julian the Apostate*, for which he had been severely prosecuted in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, had now the Courage to set forth, "his humble and hearty Address to all the *English* Protestants in the Army;" wherein he represented the Danger of making themselves the Instruments of the Court and Papists, for the Destruction of their Religion, and Subversion of the Government. The same Considerations were offered to

to all *English* Seamen; and the Author was prosecuted A. D. in the King's Bench, for having the Virtue to animate ^{1686.} his Countrymen against Popery. He was sentenced to stand three Times in the Pillory, and to be Whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; which barbarous Sentence was executed upon this worthy and learned Divine, with as much Severity as if he had acted the infamous Part of *Oates* or *Dangerfield*. It was amazing with what Fortitude he sustained his Sufferings, which he bore with the Spirit and Patience of a primitive Martyr: But, in 1689, the Judgment against him was reversed; and his Degradation declared void. The common Soldiers in the Army murmured at the Cruelty exercised on Mr. *Johnson*; they despised the Admonitions of the Priests; and were far from shewing themselves such servile Slaves as would destroy the National Liberties.

THE *French* Monarch was beginning to involve the A. D. Continent in fresh Troubles; as he was certain of re-^{1687.}ceiving no Opposition from the King of *England*, who refused to join in the Confederacy of *Ausburg*. *James* had been admitted a Lay-brother of the *Jesuits* Society, and was fonder of establishing their Power than supporting his own Supremacy. His Conscience and Counsels were directed by Father *Edward Petre*; a Jesuit, says *Burnet*, descended of a noble Family; but of no Learning, nor any way famed for his Virtue. He advised the King to an universal Toleration; and such enormous Strides were taken by the Jesuits, that the other *Roman Catholics* dreaded their Ascendancy, and blushed at their Impudence.

THE King told Father *Clare*, "he would either convert *England*, or die a Martyr;" and he attempted all in his Power to perform his Promise; though in direct Opposition to many Examples he had seen, and to much Advice he had received. His Father, on the Scaffold, sent him Word by Bishop *Juxon*, "that, if ever he came to the Crown, he should so govern his Subjects, as not to force them upon Extremities." His Brother, according to *Puffendorf*, in his dying Moments,

A. D. 1687. Moments, “ advised him not to think upon introducing the *Romish* Religion into *England*; it being a Thing that was both dangerous and impracticable.” *Don Pedro Ronquillor*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, freely told him, “ he saw several Priests about him, that he knew would importune him to alter the established Religion in *England*: But he wished his Majesty would not give Ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was afraid his Majesty would repent of it when it was too late.” The King was offended at this Freedom, and angrily asked the Ambassador, “ whether, in *Spain*, they advised with their Confessors? Yes, Sir, answered *Ronquillor*, we do; and that’s the Reason our Affairs go so ill.” Even Pope *Innocent XI.* wrote a Letter to King *James* upon his Accession to the Crown, informing him, “ that he was highly pleased with his Majesty’s Zeal for the Catholic Religion: But he was afraid his Majesty might push it too far; and, instead of contributing to his own Greatness, and to the Advantage of the Catholic Church, he might come to do both it, and himself, the greatest Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holiness was well assured, from long Experience, could not succeed.”

THE Earl of *Rocheſter* was removed from being Treasurer; and his Brother, the Earl of *Clarendon*, lost the Privy Seal; because they refused to become Papists: Upon which, the Treasury was put in Commission; and the Privy Seal given to Lord *Arundel*. The Court, the Army, and the Law, were filled with Papists; *Parker* * succeeded *Fell* as Bishop of *Oxford*; and the Church was to receive a deeper Wound through the Sides of the Universities.

DOCTOR *John Peachell*, the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, was suspended, by the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission; for refusing to admit Father *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine, to the Degree of Master of Arts, in pursuance of a Mandate from the King, who had dispensed with the usual Oath, in favour of the Monk. This was the first avowed Attempt to introduce Papists into the Universities; and *Oxford* had a more terrible Storm

* See this Vol. p. 116.

Storm to encounter, which she gloriously withstood, A. D. notwithstanding her late *Decree in Recommendation of 1687. Passive Obedience.

THE Deanry of Christ-Church in *Oxford*, was given to *Masse*, as a Reward for his Apostacy from the Established Religion ; and it was set up for a Maxim to encourage all Converts. The Priests studied to get the Presidentship of *Magdalen* College into their Hands ; because it was the richest Endowment in *Europe*, and was founded by *William Wainfleet*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in 1459. " In all Nations, says *Burnet*, the Privileges of Colleges and Universities are esteemed such sacred Things, that few will venture to dispute these, much less to disturb them, when their Title is good, and their Possession is of a long Continuance." "*Magdalen* College, says *Welwood*, is one of the noblest Foundations that perhaps was ever erected to Learning in the World ; and this illustrious Society from repeated Grants of Kings, ratified in Parliament, and from their own Statutes, was in an uninterrupted Possession of a Right to elect their own Presidents." The Presidentship became vacant by the Death of Doctor *Clark*, on the 31st of *March* ; and Doctor *Aldworth*, the Vice-President, gave Notice to the Fellows for a new Election on the 13th of *April*. The King interfered by his royal Mandamus, accompanied with a *Dispensation*, in favour of one *Anthony Farmer*, a Man of ill Reputation, who had promised to declare himself a Papist. There was no legal Authority in a Mandamus, which was considered as an arbitrary Command ; and the Fellows, by a Majority of 25 against 3, elected Doctor *Hough*, who was a statutable Man, a worthy Divine, and a firm Patriot. But it was much observed, that this University, which had asserted the Royal Authority in the highest Strains of Flattery, should be the first Body of the Nation that were to feel the Effects of it most sensibly : And, in 1710, the famous Decree of this University made, in 1683, in Favour of arbitrary Power, was voted by the House of Lords to be burnt.

THE

* See this Vol. p. 241.

A. D. 1687. THE new President was confirmed by the Visitor, who was the Bishop of *Winchester*; and the King was so violently incensed, at this Contempt of his Royal Mandate, that he could not be appeased by the Duke of *Ormond*, who was Chancellor of the University. The Vice-President and Fellows were cited to appear before the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners* at *Whitehall*; where six Fellows, deputed by the Society, appeared on the 6th of *June*, and gave in so many Allegations against *Farmer*, that the Commissioners were ashamed of him. But they suspended the new President, the Vice-President, and one of the Fellows; which gave Room for the King to nominate *Parker* Bishop of *Oxford*, who was also objected to by the Fellows, and the King went himself to the University to overcome the Obstinacy of this *contumacious* College. He ordered the Fellows to attend him at *Christ-Church* in a Body; when he told them they had behaved undutifully; that they were a stubborn, turbulent College; and asked, if this was their Church of *England* Loyalty? "Get you gone; know I am your King; and will be obeyed. Get you gone, and elect the Bishop of *Oxon*; or else you must expect to feel the Weight of my Hand." The Fellows shewed an inflexible Firmness to their Statutes, and looked upon the Authority of the Laws, to be greater than this terrifying Prerogative of the King; who saw he had shewn his Weakness in descending from his Dignity; and left the University, which he found was become wholly interested in the Event.

THE Fellows of *Magdalen* College would accept of no Court Expedient; and an inferior *Ecclesiastical Commission* was issued out to the Bishop of *Chester*, Chief Justice *Wright*, and *Jenner* one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, as supreme Visitors of the University; who entered *Oxford*, on the 20th of *November*, guarded by three Troops of Horse. The Commissioners cited the Fellows before them; and used every Inducement that might prevail to wear out their Consciences: But Doctor *Hough* defended his Right with so much Boldness,

Boldness, that the Commissioners struck his Name out A. D. of the College-Book; installed the Bishop of *Oxford* ^{1687.} by Proxy; and violently put him in Possession of the President's Lodging. The Fellows refused to admit the new President imposed upon them by Force, and illegally put in Possession: Upon which, the Commissioners returned to *London* for new Instructions; and the whole Nation now thought themselves concerned in the Dispute.

THE Commissioners soon returned to *Oxford*, with plenary Power to punish those who had bravely stood in the Gap for the Sake of Liberty and Religion. The Commissioners told the Fellows, "that Conscience, which was brought to vindicate their petulant and contumacious Behaviour, was the stale Topic of Rebellion; and that their Punishment should be as public as their Crime; for those who were too tall to stand, and too stubborn to bend, deserved to be broken." The Fellows conscientiously refused to accept of the *dispensing Power*, and to acknowledge the Bishop of *Oxford* for their President: Upon which Doctor *Hough*, and 25 Fellows, on the 16th of *November*, were deprived of their Fellowships, expelled the College, and declared incapable of being admitted to any Ecclesiastical Dignity or Benefice. The College was filled with Papists: *Parker* was confirmed President in the Room of Doctor *Hough*; and *Robert Charnock* was appointed Vice-President. But Doctor *Hough* was afterwards promoted to the Bishopric of *Litchfield* and *Coven-*
try: And *Charnock* was hanged at *Tyburn*, in 1696, for a Plot to assassinate King *William* the Third.

THIS violent Blow struck at the whole Estate, and all the Temporalities of the Church. Thus, by a Decree of an illegal Court, were a Sett of worthy and learned Men turned out of their Freeholds, merely for not obeying an arbitrary Command, which was directly against their Consciences. And thus was King *James* prevailed with, by a headstrong Party, to assume a Power not only to *dispense* with Laws, but to make void Oaths. All which Proceedings were repugnant
to

A. D. to the *Constitution*; especially as *Magna Charta* provides
 1687. for the Spiritual, as well as Temporal Liberties of the
 Subject.

THE Parliament still continued under Prorogation, that the King might have the greater Opportunity of *dispensing* with the Execution of Penal Laws, by granting a Toleration of all Religions. The King was to reverse the old Game * which had been played by his Brother, who oppressed the Dissenters, that he might favour the Papists: Or he was to play a Part of the old Game † anew, by indulging the Dissenters, to pave the Way for a *general Plan of Toleration*. The *Test-Act* ‡ was to be entirely demolished; and a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was published in Scotland, where the *Roman Catholics* were to be equally tolerated with the Dissenters: But the Field Conventiclers were to be excepted, whose fundamental Principles were said to be against the Government. This was followed by a similar Declaration in England; wherein the King wished all his Subjects were *Members of the Catholic Church*; declared the Suspension of penal Laws in Ecclesiastical Matters; that the Tests and Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy should not be required; and proclaimed a Pardon and Indemnity to all Penalties incurred by Nonconformity.

ADDRESSES flowed in from the Dissenters of all Persuasions, in the highest Strain of Gratitude and Loyalty: But they soon perceived, that the King only aimed at reviving their former Animosities with the Episcopalians; and this put the *Presbyterians* on their Guard. The Lawyers of the *Middle-Temple* applauded the Toleration; and said, they would defend the Prerogatives, by asserting, with their Lives and Fortunes, that divine Maxim, *A Deo Rex, A Rege Lex*! Yet the King was disappointed in his High-Church Parliament; and in vain *closetted* many of the Commons, who resisted all his Temptations; being staunch for the Interest of
 Religion

* See this Vol. p. 51, 65, 71, 102, 114, 142, 218.

† Ibid. p. 76, 154, 174, 175. ‡ Ibid. p. 176, 186, 206.

Religion and their Country. They had been wrong-^{A.D. 1667.}fully accused of being popishly inclined; and now manifested themselves such good Protestants, that the King, after proroguing them at several Times from the 20th of *November* 1685, punished them for their Refractoriness with a *Dissolution*, on the 2d of *July*, which was done by Proclamation.

HIS Majesty wanted such a new Parliament as might be entirely at his Devotion, and issued out *Quo Warranto*'s against several Corporations, that he might deprive them of their Charters, and grant others that should render him Master of the Elections. The People dreaded the *Dispensing Power*, and bluntly shewed they would not contribute to their own Destruction; nor was the King any Stranger to the Sentiments of his Subjects, as he made a Progress through several Counties, in Imitation of what his Brother had done in 1663.

THE Dread of Popery had so much exasperated the People, that some of the leading Patriots began to throw their Eyes on the Prince of *Orange*, whose Princess was Heir apparent to the Throne. The *French* Monarch had shewn great Indignity to the Prince, by wasting his patrimonial Inheritance in *Provence*, and banishing the Protestants from the Territory of *Orange*, which was afterwards yielded to *France* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. His Highness was forming a Confederacy against the ambitious Views of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and shewed great Dissatisfaction at the Conduct of his Father-in-law, who was desirous of a Son, that might succeed to the Throne, and deprive the Prince of that Influence which he was daily acquiring among the People of *England*. The King had four Sons by his former Wife, who all died in their Infancy: He had also one Son, and three Daughters, by his present Wife, who likewise all died very young: But, as his Majesty was almost 55 Years of Age, and his Queen * thirty, it was generally imagined they would have no more Children,

THE

* See this Vol. p. 181.

A. D. 1687. THE King had two natural Sons by Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*; and the eldest, named *James Fitz-James*, who had been created Duke of *Berwick*, was now serving as a Volunteer against the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and afterwards proved such an accomplished General, that he rivalled the Character of his Uncle the Duke of *Marlborough*. Mrs. *Catherine Sidley* bore the King a Daughter in 1681, and had such an Ascendancy over his Heart, that he created her Countess of *Dorchester*; which made the Queen entertain great Jealousy of the Royal Favourite; especially as her Majesty wanted an Heir, to remove the mortifying Idea of being considered as a decaying Tree that could send forth no more Branches. The Physicians recommended the *Bath* to the Queen; and the Priests prevailed on the King to make a Progress to *Holywell* in *Flintshire*, to offer up his Prayers and Vows to *St. Winifred*, the Patroness; if not to partake of the Virtues of that supposed invigorating Spring.*

THE King set out on his Progress from *Bath* on the 22d of *August*, and arrived at *Holywell* on the 29th. He was met at *Shrewsbury* by the Earl of *Tyrconnel* from *Ireland*, with a Train of above sixty Noblemen and Gentlemen from that Kingdom; after which, his Majesty returned to his Queen at *Bath*, from whom he had been absent fifteen Days. This Progress was principally undertaken in the ridiculous Hope, that *Holywell* Water had the sanctified Quality of giving the King a Son and Heir; and the Queen was soon afterwards declared pregnant. But his Majesty had also other Views in this Journey; for he thought his Royal Presence among his People would reconcile them to his Measures, and diffuse Popery over the Kingdom, by reviving the Custom of touching for the Evil, according to the Form of a Popish Office pretended to be in Use in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, and now printed with Rubric Letter, wherein Father *Warner* officiated as Chaplain and Confessor to his Majesty.

BISHOP

* See *Rolt's Cambria*, p. 63.

BISHOP *Kennet* says, " It could hardly be expressed A. D.
 with what joyful Acclamations the King was received, 1687.
 and what dutiful Acknowledgments were paid to him,
 in his Progress." But Bishop *Burnet* asserts, " that
 most of the Nobility and Gentry industriously avoided
 him ; and those, who did come in, shewed, in their very
 Countenances, such a Coldness, as was visible even to
 the King himself, and gave him equal Displeasure and
 Uneasiness." He certainly met with great Marks of
 Loyalty from the Dissenters, who promised all that
 was required of them with Respect to the Repeal of
 the Test and the penal Laws ; because the King treated
 them with unmerited Partiality. The Corporations
 were new-modelled in Favour of the Nonconformists,
 and a Presbyterian was elected Lord-Mayor of *London*.
 The Dissenters became Allies to the Papists ; and a
 new Commission was issued to certain Lords, and others,
 under the Denomination of *Regulators* ; who were em-
 powered to qualify or disqualify such Electors for Mem-
 bers of Parliament as they thought proper : While the
 Lords-Lieutenant of several Counties, their Deputies,
 and many Justices of Peace, were turned out of Em-
 ployment, for refusing to promote the Repeal of the
 Tests and penal Laws. The King wanted to choose
 his own Parliament, and saddle the Nation with a Sett
 of State Prostitutes ; which was perceived by Whigs and
 Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters ; who entered into
 a Coalition for their general Security, and intimidated
 the King from calling a Parliament.

THE Jesuits had the Satisfaction to see Father *Petre*
 admitted into the Privy-Council ; and expected he
 would have the Archbishopric of *York*. They would
 have it believed, that they had converted the three
 Kingdoms ; on which Account they persuaded the King
 to send an Ambassador to the Pope, to reconcile his
 Dominions to the Holy See. The Earl of *Castlemain**
 was sent on this Embassy ; and met with a cool Re-
 ception from *Innocent* the Eleventh, who knew such a
 national

* See this Vol. p. 218.

A. D.
1687. national Conversion would not be so easily accomplished. However, *Ferdinando Dadda* was publicly received by the King, as Nuncio from the Pope, and was consecrated Archbishop of *Amasia* in the Royal Chapel. *Charles* the First admitted *Rosetti* * as a Sort of Nuncio, in Complaisance to his Queen: But the assuming of such a Character was High Treason; and the Duke of *Somerset* refused to attend the Nuncio to his Audience of *James* the Second, as he conceived it criminal in the Eye of the Law.

A. D.
1688. THE King had been so hastily climbing to the Height of his Ambition, that he found himself in such a dangerous Situation as his Brother† was in fifteen Years before, and was soon to receive a violent Fall. He was determined to convert his Subjects to his own Faith; and published a second Declaration of Indulgence on the 27th of *April*; which was ordered to be publicly read in all Churches and Chapels throughout the Kingdom, and to be distributed by the Bishops throughout their respective Dioceses. The Clergy considered this as an Insult upon themselves; as they were commanded to read a Declaration which they knew was contrary to Law, and levelled against their own Interest. Several Bishops assembled at the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, to consult how they were to behave upon so extraordinary an Occasion, for the Preservation of their Religion, in Opposition to the Rod of Prerogative, and the Scourge of *Ecclesiastical Commission*. Their Resolutions awakened the People of *England* to shake off their Chains, and implore foreign Assistance to retrieve the dying Liberties of their Country.

THESE illustrious Prelates were *Sancroft* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Lloyd* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *Kenn* of *Bath and Wells*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lake* of *Chichester*, *White* of *Peterborough*, and *Trelawny* of *Bristol*, who presented a Petition to his Majesty, in Behalf of all their Clergy, beseeching him not to insist upon their distributing and reading

* See Vol. II. p. 224. † See this Vol. p. 176.

reading the Declaration. *Rapin* says, " God seems to A. D. have blinded the King, to prevent his seeing what every ^{1688.} one else clearly saw, in order to throw him upon his Ruin." His Majesty rashly considered this humble Petition as a seditious Libel, and summoned the Bishops before him in Council, on the 8th of *June*; when they were treated with Indignity, and committed Prisoners to the *Tower*, on insisting upon the Privileges of their Peerage, and refusing to give Bail for their Appearance in the Court of King's-Bench. They were privately conducted to the *Tower* by Water: But Multitudes of People flocked to the River, and implored the Blessings of the Right Reverend Prisoners. The Soldiers in Garrison fell on their Knees and prayed for the Deliverance of those they were appointed to guard. The Nation was alarmed, and every Protestant considered the Cause of the Bishops as his own: So that an universal Affection for Liberty, and a general Zeal for Religion, were suddenly revived, and gloriously supported.

THE Bishops were brought from the *Tower* to *Westminster-Hall*, on the 15th of *June*, to take their Trial at the Bar of the King's-Bench; and the Populace shewed them as much Veneration, as they had done Disrespect to the ten* Bishops who were committed to the *Tower* in 1642. The Trial was put off to the 29th, when the Hall was crowded with Persons of Distinction: For upon this Cause depended the Fate of the Established Church, and the Liberties of the Nation. The Prelates were indicted of a high Misdemeanor in writing and publishing a false and seditious Libel, under the Pretence of a Petition. Their Council demonstrated, by invincible Arguments, that the *Dispensing* Power was an open Violation of the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom. Sir *Richard Holloway*, and Sir *John Powel*, two of the Judges, declared their Opinions in Favour of the Bishops; and the Jury pronounced their Verdict *Not Guilty*; which was attended with the loudest Acclamations of Joy in the Hall, the City, and throughout the

* See Vol. II. p. 225.

A. D. the whole Kingdom. The King was then with the
 1688. Army encamped on *Hounslow-Heath*, and had the Mor-
 tification to hear a general Shout of Joy among the Sol-
 diers, for the Deliverance of the Bishops ; which might
 have convinced him, how impossible it is to debauch an
English Army from their Love to their Country and their
 Religion.

HOLLOWAY and *Porwel* were struck off the List
 of Judges ; and an Enquiry was made in what Places
 the Declaration had been read ; whereby it appeared,
 that only 200 out of the whole Body of the Clergy had
 paid Obedience to the Royal Edict. However, the
 King proceeded in his Infatuation, and came to the Re-
 solution of compelling by his Army, what he could not
 effect by his Council : But he found it necessary to fill
 up the Regiments with *Irish* Soldiers, before he could
 establish Popery.

THE Pregnancy of the Queen occasioned inexpressi-
 ble Joy among the *Roman* Catholics, and Vows were
 offered at every Shrine for a Male Successor. The
Gazette proclaimed to the World, that her Majesty
 was delivered of a Son on the 10th of *June*, being
Trinity-Sunday, at *St. James's* ; which completed the
 Triumph of the Papists, and increased the Terror of
 the Protestants. The young Prince was baptized by
 the Name of *James-Francis-Edward*, and was afterwards
 commonly known by Name of the *Pretender* : But the
 King had created so many Enemies, that it was re-
 ported he intended to impose a supposititious Son on
 the Public, for the Sake of precluding his Daughters
 from the Succession. His Majesty recorded, in the
 Court of Chancery, the Oaths of many Witnesses to
 prove the Birth and Identity of the young Prince : But
 a Rumour still prevailed, that this Queen *Mary* was no
 more pregnant now, than the other Queen *Mary** was
 in 1555. To decide by Law, that a Child is suppo-
 sititious, very convincing Proofs must be alledged ; be-
 cause the Judges are obliged to follow the Rules of
 Law, and are not determined by Appearances. A

Warming-

* See Vol. II. p. 105.

Warming-Pan was brought into the Room, when the A. D. Queen was in Labour; which gave Rise to an Opinion, 1688. that her Majesty miscarried, and another Child was substituted in the Room of her own. An Affair of such Importance was managed with great Supineness and Imprudence; especially as the Court knew that the Queen was suspected of a Design to impose an Heir upon the Kingdom. *Echard* says, "there remained so many Marks of Suspicion, as caused infinite Doubts and Disputes." *Welwood* calls the Child, *A pretended Prince of Wales*; and asserts, "there were so many Circumstances that seemed to render his Birth suspicious, that the Nation in general were inclinable to believe, that this was the last Effort of the Popish Party, to accomplish the Ruin of the Protestants." *Burnet* says, "the Conception was suspicious; and that the Princess *Anne* was not satisfied about the Pregnancy, which gave just Grounds of Suspicion." He mentions the Introduction of the Warming-Pan; and concludes, "that if an Imposture had been intended, it could not have been otherwise managed." And *Rapin* remarks that, "The Empress *Constantia*, Wife of *Henry* the Sixth, proving with Child at the Age of fifty-two Years, chose a Place the most public for her Labour, and thereby removed all Suspicion of the Birth of her Child: On the contrary, the Queen of King *James* the Second, for having neglected all Precautions, has left upon her Son, real or pretended, a Blot which has not yet been effaced." It is said, that the Queen had passed the Years, at which it was usual for *Italian* Women to bear Children, and that her Son was only a putative Prince: But *James* the Second, in 1692, sent a Letter from *France*, to several Lords and others of his late Privy-Council, acquainting them that his Queen was big with Child, and requiring them to attend at *St. Germain's* to be Witnesses of her Labour, which happened on the 18th of *June*, when she was delivered of a Daughter, named *Louisa-Maria-Theresa*, who died in 1712. Many Protestants believed the Prince of *Wales* supposititious: But many were of the same Opinion with the

A. D 1689. the Papists, and were afterwards called *Jacobites*, for asserting his hereditary Right to the Throne, when Things took an unexpected Turn, and the Government was settled according to the Constitution, which considers the Safety of the People as the best Security for the Honour of the Prince.

THE Birth of this Prince was never incontestibly proved; nor was the Imposture ever made evidently appear. The whole rested upon the Prejudices of Papists and Protestants: But even his Religion would incapacitate him from succeeding to the Government, as it was afterwards limited by those constitutional Laws, whereby the Doctrine of hereditary Right was invalidated, the Pretender to the Crown proscribed as a Traitor, all Allegiance to him renounced, and all Obedience to him abjured.

THE Prince was educated in the *Romish* Religion, and was honoured with the external Marks of Royalty by the *Pope*, who afforded him an Asylum in *Rome*. He married the Princess *Clementina Sobieski*, Daughter of *James Sobieski*, the Son of *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*; by whom he had Issue two Sons, *Charles-Edward*, and *Henry-Benedict*; the former born on the 31st of *December* 1720, and the latter on the 6th of *March* 1725. The Guardians of *British* Liberty, have taken Care that this Family shall never govern the *British* Dominions: While the Pretender has been frequently made use of, as the unhappy Instrument of *France* to disturb that Monarchy which was violently shaken, poorly abandoned, and justly forfeited, by the Ambition, Timidity, and Injustice of *James* the Second.

LEWIS the Fourteenth encouraged *James* the Second to aim at absolute Power; and the *Jesuits* incited him to re-establish their Religion; both of which he thought easily to accomplish; but found them both equally impracticable. The deluded Monarch was made uneasy by seeing so many Princes in *Europe* reigning with a despotic Sway: Those of *Sweden* and *Denmark* had also lately become absolute: So that *England* and *Poland* were now the only remaining Kingdoms,

doms, where the Liberty of the People and Monarchy A. D. subsisted together. It is sometimes a Matter of no great 1688, Difficulty to change the Religion of a Country; as may be seen in *Constantine*, *Clovis*, *Gustavus Vasa*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; each of whom accomplished this by different Methods. But then two Things are absolutely requisite to effect such Alterations; deep Policy; and a Concurrence of Circumstances: By neither of which was *James* favoured. Had he been a *Mahometan*, or had he followed the Doctrine of *Confucius*, the *English* would never have disturbed his Reign: But he designed to establish the *Roman Catholic* Religion in his Kingdoms; than which, says *Voltaire*, nothing could be more detestable in the Eyes of those *Republican Royalists*, who accounted it the Religion of Slaves. His whole Conduct was so indiscreet, that the Cardinals of *Rome* humourously said, "They ought to excommunicate him, as a Man who was going to destroy that little of the Catholic Religion which remained in *England*."

ALL the Vacancies in the *English* Regiments were filled with *Irish* Officers; some entire Regiments were ordered from *Ireland*; and the Fleet was maintained in a formidable Condition, on Pretence of keeping the *Dutch* in Awe. The chief Forts, particularly *Portsmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into *Papish* Hands; and the Garrisons so modelled, that the Majority were Papists. The Apprehension of an *Irish* Army was disagreeable to an *English* Subject; especially since the * Massacre in 1641: But, as the King could not get a Parliament to his Inclination, he was determined to have an Army at his Devotion. His Labour was like that of *Sisyphus*; for the general Voice of his Subjects, his Army, and his Fleet, might have convinced him of the Error of his Government, which he pursued to an egregious Degree of Obstinacy.

THE Bishop of *Rocheſter* with-drew from the new *Ecclesiastical Court*; and his Defection gave the King great Uneasiness; yet he persisted in his Design of totally
subverting

* See Vol. II. p. 223.

A. D. 1688. subverting the Government in Church and State. When the Danger was so alarming, the noble Principles of *English* Liberty began to rekindle in the Nation; notwithstanding all the Endeavours that had been used to extinguish them for so long a Time. The Voice of Patriotism was ripe; and *Englishmen* were now to be saved by foreign Assistance, in a Manner very different from what the ancient † *Britons* were 1241 Years before. The Constitution was tearing up by the Roots; and, while the State was so rotten at Heart, no Efficacy could be derived from any lenient Remedies.

THE *French* Monarch was now in a Condition to break through the Treaty of || *Nimeguen*, which had established the general Peace of *Europe* in 1678. The *Hotel de Ville* of *Paris*, in 1680, applied to him the Title of *Great*; and he made the Season of Peace a Time for Conquests. The Empire, *Spain*, and *Holland*, disbanded their extraordinary Troops, and were contemptuously treated by *Lewis*, who acted more like a Master, and a Judge among Sovereigns, than any other Prince since the Time of *Charlemagne*. The Prince of † *Orange* had shewn himself as ambitious to preserve the Liberties of Mankind, as the *French* Monarch had shewn himself desirous of destroying them. *Lewis* was preparing to send a numerous Army into *Germany*, to compel the Emperor to confirm the Cardinal de *Furstemberg* as Elector of *Cologne*, to which Dignity he had been arbitrarily nominated by the *French* Monarch. The Prince of *Orange* was bent upon humbling *Lewis*; and formed such vast Designs, as might appear chimerical in a Stadtholder of *Holland*; but they were justified by his Dexterity and Courage. His Highness gradually formed a League among the *European* Princes, that shook all the Power of *France*. The Emperor, Part of the Empire, *Holland*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* were the first who secretly joined themselves at *Ausburg*, in 1686; and this Alliance was soon after strengthened by the Accession of *Spain*, *Savoy*, and other Powers. *Lewis* soon

† See Vol. I. p. 43, 46. || See this Vol. p. 95, 193, and 242. † See this Vol. p. 160, 165, and 191.

soon became surrounded with Enemies ; and had only ^{A. D. 1688.} James for his Friend : But the Prince of Orange was destined first to save *England* from the illegal Proceedings of the one, and then to protect the Continent from the unjust Invasions of the other.

THE Corporations of *England* were at last modeled agreeable to the Dispositions of the Court ; and the King, on the 24th of *August*, declared his Intention of calling a Parliament on the 27th of *November*. A Parliament returned by disqualified Electors, and Creatures who had sold or pledged their Consciences to the Court, could neither be free nor legal ; and nothing but a free and honest Parliament could redress the National Grievances, which were now gathered to such a Head, that a Mortification must ensue, if the ulcerous Part was not properly probed and cleansed. In such a dangerous Situation, what was to be done by a People who had seen their ancient Liberties invaded, their best Laws violated, and their holy Religion prophaned ? They were not alarmed with a single Act of illegal Violence ; but they shuddered at a declared Design against the whole Fabric of their happy Constitution. The eldest Law of Nature took Place, when all other Laws were ineffectual ; Self-preservation became necessary, when a total Subversion was imminent ; and Resistance was allowed, when Obedience was disregarded. *Magna Charta* * would appear no more than an old cancelled Deed ; and the *Bill of Rights* † would seem only a Piece of waste Paper, if the Hand of Power was suffered to destroy every thing in its Reach. Absolute Submission is only fit for absolute Slaves : It is the Doctrine of *Turkey* ; but should be for ever exploded in *England*. Freedom has Laws of her own ; and it is Time to snatch the Sword from the Hand of Tyranny, when Freedom is trampled under Foot. There is a certain Crisis when the Patience of Man can hold no longer : The Sparks of Liberty may

VOL. III. P be

* See Vol. I. p. 253 ; and Vol. II. p. 208. † See Vol. II. p. 215.

A. D. 1688. subverting the Government in Church and State. When the Danger was so alarming, the noble Principles of *English* Liberty began to rekindle in the Nation; notwithstanding all the Endeavours that had been used to extinguish them for so long a Time. The Voice of Patriotism was ripe; and *Englishmen* were now to be saved by foreign Assistance, in a Manner very different from what the ancient † *Britons* were 1241 Years before. The Constitution was tearing up by the Roots; and, while the State was so rotten at Heart, no Efficacy could be derived from any lenient Remedies.

THE *French* Monarch was now in a Condition to break through the Treaty of ‖ *Nimeguen*, which had established the general Peace of *Europe* in 1678. The *Hotel de Ville* of *Paris*, in 1680, applied to him the Title of *Great*; and he made the Season of Peace a Time for Conquests. The Empire, *Spain*, and *Holland*, disbanded their extraordinary Troops, and were contemptuously treated by *Lewis*, who acted more like a Master, and a Judge among Sovereigns, than any other Prince since the Time of *Charlemagne*. The Prince of † *Orange* had shewn himself as ambitious to preserve the Liberties of Mankind, as the *French* Monarch had shewn himself desirous of destroying them. *Lewis* was preparing to send a numerous Army into *Germany*, to compel the Emperor to confirm the Cardinal de *Furstemberg* as Elector of *Cologne*, to which Dignity he had been arbitrarily nominated by the *French* Monarch. The Prince of *Orange* was bent upon humbling *Lewis*; and formed such vast Designs, as might appear chimerical in a Stadtholder of *Holland*; but they were justified by his Dexterity and Courage. His Highness gradually formed a League among the *European* Princes, that shook all the Power of *France*. The Emperor, Part of the Empire, *Holland*, and the Duke of *Lorraine* were the first who secretly joined themselves at *Ausburg*, in 1686; and this Alliance was soon after strengthened by the Accession of *Spain*, *Savoy*, and other Powers. *Lewis* soon

† See Vol. I. p. 43, 46. ‖ See this Vol. p. 95, 193, and 242. ‡ See this Vol. p. 160, 165, and 191.

soon became surrounded with Enemies ; and had only ^{A. D.} *James* for his Friend : But the Prince of *Orange* was ^{1688.} destined first to save *England* from the illegal Proceedings of the one, and then to protect the Continent from the unjust Invasions of the other.

THE Corporations of *England* were at last modeled agreeable to the Dispositions of the Court ; and the King, on the 24th of *August*, declared his Intention of calling a Parliament on the 27th of *November*. A Parliament returned by disqualified Electors, and Creatures who had sold or pledged their Consciences to the Court, could neither be free nor legal ; and nothing but a free and honest Parliament could redress the National Grievances, which were now gathered to such a Head, that a Mortification must ensue, if the ulcerous Part was not properly probed and cleansed. In such a dangerous Situation, what was to be done by a People who had seen their ancient Liberties invaded, their best Laws violated, and their holy Religion prophaned ? They were not alarmed with a single Act of illegal Violence ; but they shuddered at a declared Design against the whole Fabric of their happy Constitution. The eldest Law of Nature took Place, when all other Laws were ineffectual ; Self-preservation became necessary, when a total Subversion was imminent ; and Resistance was allowed, when Obedience was disregarded. *Magna Charta* * would appear no more than an old cancelled Deed ; and the *Bill of Rights* † would seem only a Piece of waste Paper, if the Hand of Power was suffered to destroy every thing in its Reach. Absolute Submission is only fit for absolute Slaves : It is the Doctrine of *Turkey* ; but should be for ever exploded in *England*. Freedom has Laws of her own ; and it is Time to snatch the Sword from the Hand of Tyranny, when Freedom is trampled under Foot. There is a certain Crisis when the Patience of Man can hold no longer : The Sparks of Liberty may

VOL. III. P be

* See Vol. I. p. 253 ; and Vol. II. p. 208. † See Vol. II. p. 215.

A. D. 1658. be smothered awhile ; but they seldom fail to make the brighter Blaze when they shew themselves again. Several Attempts had lately been made to shake ministerial Influence ; and to restore that Freedom in Speech and Conduct, which is the striking Characteristic of the *English* Constitution. But now an enraged People, who scorned to be bound in Chains, were struggling for Liberty, and both King and Courtiers were alike to feel the Resentment of a greatly injured Nation. A Monarchical or Republican Tyranny are equally incompatible with the Form of the *English* Constitution ; and the regal Prerogative had been opposed to fanatical Zeal, till it was carried so high as to threaten the Church of *England* itself with Ruin. The Members of the Church were convinced of their Error by setting no Bounds to Passive Obedience, and opened their Eyes when they were upon the Brink of Destruction. The People in general perceived, that it was necessary to have the Royal Authority circumscribed ; or that the Church and State would be ruined. A sensible Man will retract his Error ; an obstinate Man pursues his to Destruction. The Churchmen began to think that the Presbyterians had been too rigorously treated ; and the Presbyterians found they had wrongfully accused the Church of *England* of leaning to Popery. An Uniformity of Sentiments was adopted so far as related to political Interest, and it was expected that ecclesiastical Matters would be more tenderly handled when Popery was removed. It would have been happy for the King, and even happy for the People, if Civil Fury had been moderated by Royal Condescension ; or if the Faith of a King could be depended upon by a deceived Kingdom : But every thing was rushing to Extremity ; and it is no Wonder, when a Nation is reduced to a State of Confusion, that many Things are transacted, which can neither be defended upon Principles of Policy or Justice.

WHIGs, Tories, and Nonconformists, all saw, and dreaded, the Designs of the Papists : They heard the Thunder rolling over their Heads ; and they expected the

the Thunder-bolt would suddenly fall. The Danger ^{A. D.} was general ; and Security could not be obtained by ^{1688.} one, without being common to all. Party Dissentions, and religious Distinctions, subsided ; a national Coalition was formed among all Parties, and nothing but their common Enemy was despised. The Whigs opposed the King upon those ancient Principles of Liberty, which had induced them to aim at his Exclusion : The Tories found all their Services disregarded : And the Nonconformists saw that their Fidelity was courted, only to make them assistant in throwing one End of the Chain, while the Papists threw the other. The King was ignorant of this Union, and reposed his greatest Strength in their Division : He was also ignorant of their Application to the Prince of *Orange* for redressing their Grievances, and little apprehended he should find an Enemy in his Son-in-law. But the greatest Revolution that ever happened in the *English* History, was brought about with the most impenetrable Secrecy.

THE Principles of Passive-Obedience and Nonresistance were found inconsistent with national Liberty and Personal Security ; which could not be denied even upon the Principles of *Grotius* and *Barclay*, who had been the highest Assertors of resignatory Submission. Those who had gone the greatest Lengths in securing the Inheritance of the Throne to a Popish Heir, were deadly sick of their own Choice, and were sorry to see the Continuance of that Succession which they had so fondly chosen. They contented themselves with Murmurs, while the King remained without a Son ; and they patiently submitted, in Hopes the Princess of *Orange* would see all their Wrongs redressed. But, when an Heir apparent was ushered into the World, it was deemed impolitic to temporize any longer with the Papists. The People of *England* saw the Protestant Religion liable to stronger Convulsions ; and the Prince of *Orange* saw the long-hoped for Succession of his Princess reduced to a precarious Situation : Therefore, the Prince, and the People, grew impatient to incorporate

A. D. 1688. porate Interests, and to make one grand Effort to accomplish their several Purposes. The very Son which his Majesty brought forth as a Blessing to the Nation, proved a Curse to himself; for such are the inscrutable Decrees of Providence.

THE Prince of *Orange* never interested himself in the Affairs of *England*, till he saw the King was determined to undermine, or sack, the Protestant Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom. The King had impolitickly desired the Prince to countenance the Repeal of the Test Act and the Penal Statutes; which he absolutely refused as to the Test, because he esteemed it the Security of the established Religion; but consented to repealing the Penal Laws whereby the Nonconformists were exposed to Punishment, as well as the Catholics.

THE Letters passed between the Fugitive *Steuart* and the Pensionary *Fagel*, on this Occasion, conveyed Honour to the Prince, and Reproach to the King; who repented it so far, that he recalled the Six *British* Regiments out of the *Dutch* Service, that were ready to suppress the Invasion of *Monmouth*, and were now refused; because his Majesty gave reception to the *Algerine* Pirates, who committed Depredations on the *Dutch*; and he made such Naval Preparations, that the States strongly suspected he had an Intention to make a War upon them, in the same Manner as his Brother had * formerly done.

THE Prince of *Orange* thought it his Glory to be the Conservator of the Protestant Religion; though more in Opposition to *Lewis* the Fourteenth than *James* the Second. The Prince himself was a Calvinist, or Presbyterian; and might think that many of the most distinguished *English* Protestants would at last follow the Example of the Earl of *Sunderland*, and change their Religion to oblige the King. *Dykvelt* was, therefore, sent over as the *Dutch* Envoy to *England*; with Instructions from the Prince, to make temporizing Promises, and honourable

• See this Vol. p. 90, 94, and 154.

able Concessions, to the Parties who were disgusted ^{A. D.} with the King. This private Negotiation was attended ^{1688.} with public Success; all Parties in *England*, turned their Eyes towards *Holland*; and expected a Foreign Deliverer, to free them from a Prince who was assuming the Character of a Domestic Tyrant.

WHEN every Thing is centered in Self-Preservation, all Things are held lawful that are expedient. The Constitution was unhinged; and it was the received Opinion, that only the Prince of *Orange* could rectify what was disordered. He had as much Right to save the Nation, as the Nation had to protect itself: His Princess had been long looked upon as Heir apparent to the Throne; and the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* was much suspected: Therefore, if the hereditary Right should appear to be in the Princess, it was incumbent on the Prince to take Care of the Reversion, and prevent the Possessor from ruining her Inheritance.

WHILE *James* was immersed in the Circle of his Priests, he was to meet with an unexpected Desertion among his Courtiers. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Way, by renouncing the Catholic Religion in which he had been educated, quitting his Regiment, mortgaging his Estate for 40,000 *l.* and offering his All to the Prince of *Orange*. Admiral *Herbert* followed the Example; with Lord *Mordaunt*, and Lord *Wiltshire*. Admiral *Ruffel*, Cousin German to the late unfortunate * *William Lord Ruffel*; and Mr. *Henry Sydney*, Brother to the † *Great Algernoon Sydney*; Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Dunblain*, Sir *Rowland Wynne*, and some other Gentlemen, tendered their Services to the Prince,

P 3

and

* See this Vol. p. 235, and 239.

† The Inheritors of some illustrious Families are distinguished by some particular Names: Thus *Henry the Fourth*, and *Lewis the Fourteenth*, of *France*, were called the Great: The Prince of *Condè* was called the Great *Condè*: And thus we call *Algernoon*, the Great *Sydney*, to distinguish him from many other eminent Persons of his own Family.

A. D.
1688.

and went over to *Holland*, to concert how *England* should be relieved. They held a Correspondence in *England* with the Duke of *Norfolk*; the Marquisses of *Hallifax*, and *Winchester*; the Earls of *Dorset*, *Devonshire*, and *Danby*; the Lords *Lowelace*, *Parolet*, *Delamere*, *Churchil*, *Willoughby*, and *Eland*; with Mr. *Hampden*, some other Gentlemen, and several Merchants; who concurred in their Applications to the Prince, and were devoted to the Service of him, as the Protector of their Country.

THE Prince of *Orange* had no immediate Views of ascending the Throne of *England*; though it has been pretended he rejoiced at the Destruction of the Duke of *Monmouth*. Indeed, he was invested with the Power of a King over the Republicans of *Holland*; but other Nations only considered him as an illustrious Person of a private Rank, whose yearly Income was not equivalent to that of some *English* Noblemen, as at the utmost it could not exceed 45000*l*. However, such were the Effects of his Policy, that the States General were so far devoted to his Interest, that they offered all their Forces and Treasure at his Command, to assist what were called the *distrest English*; which was strangely reversing Things from what they were when the *distrest Dutch* * were assisted by the *English* in 1585.

THE Year 1688 made all People reflect on the same Year in the former Century, when *England* was alarmed by the *Spanish* Invasion †. Her Destruction was then intended by a Popish Prince: But a new Eighty-Eight raised new Expectations; and *England* was now saved from Popery by a Protestant Prince. The King had broke up the Camp at *Hounslow*; because he found the Army were averse to Popery: Nor could Admiral *Strickland*, who was a Papist, prevail upon the Seamen to think of making War against the *Dutch*, whom they called their Friends and Brethren. The Prince of *Orange* received a formal Invitation from the *English* Patriots to Head their Party; and the States General readily

* See Vol. II. p. 145, † *Ibid.* p. 152.

readily granted them Assistance : But every thing was A. D. concerted with a Secrecy that could give no Suspicion ^{1685.} of their Intentions, till proper Preparations were made for the Expedition. An Army was encamped near *Nimwegen*, and a Fleet was equipped. Besides the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Princes of the House of *Lunenburg*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hesse Cassel*, engaged to protect *Holland*, if it should be invaded by *France*, while the Prince of *Orange* was upon his Expedition in *England*.

THE *French* Monarch was the first who suspected the Design of the Prince of *Orange*, and communicated his Suspicion to King *James*, with an Offer of his Fleet, and 30,000 Men; which were refused by *James*, who thought himself secure from any Dangers. The Earl of *Sunderland* kept the King in this State of Indolence, by representing that an Army of *French* Mercenaries would take Possession of *England* for themselves, and render his Majesty a Viceroy to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, who threatened to invade *Holland*, if the States committed any Hostility against *England*. This Denunciation of Vengeance exasperated the *Dutch*, who asked, if the two Monarchs had entered into an Alliance for the Destruction of the Republic, as was done in 1672 *? They hastened their Preparations, and every thing was in such Readiness for the Expedition, that the Marquis of *Alberville*, the *English* Minister at the *Hague*, gave positive Information to the King, on the 23d of September, that the *Dutch* Armament was destined against *England*.

HIS Majesty was terrified at this unexpected Intelligence; his Council was astonished; and they placed all their Dependence on the Army, which was augmented by Forces from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and again put under the Command of the Earl of *Feverham*; while the Command of the Fleet was entrusted to Lord *Dartmouth*. A Retraction of the late offensive Measures was necessary to be shewn; the most alluring Pro-

* See this Vol. p. 153.

A. D. 1688. misers were to be made to the People; and the King began with attempting to recover the Clergy to his Interest. He issued a Proclamation, on the 28th, to inform his Subjects, that a great and sudden Invasion from *Holland* would be speedily made upon *England*, by which no less Matter was proposed, "than an absolute Conquest of his Majesty's Kingdoms, and the utter subduing and subjecting them, and all his People, to a foreign Power." He conjured his Subjects to unite together in the Defence of him and their native Country: Declared, he made no Doubt of being found in so good a Posture, that his Enemies might have Cause to repent their rash and unjust Attempts: And recalled his Writs for summoning the Parliament.

His Majesty published a general Pardon by Proclamation, on the 2d of *October*, out of which Doctor *Burnet*, and Sixteen others, were excepted. He desired the Advice of his Bishops; and nine of them attended him at *Whitehall*, with the Result of their Conferences drawn up in ten Articles; which were so many Advices and Reproaches on his past Government. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and four of these Bishops, were among the Seven who had been imprisoned, for presenting a Petition to the King against their reading the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience: But the Advices they now gave his Majesty struck more forcibly at his dispensing Power; and, by shewing him he had violated the Laws, put him under a Necessity of revoking his arbitrary Proceedings both in Church and State.

In pursuance of this Advice, the King began to redress such of the national Grievances as had been chiefly complained of by the Bishops. The Lord-Chancellor had the mortifying Orders to carry back in Person the Charter of *London*; and a Proclamation was issued for restoring the other Corporations to their ancient Charters: Several Lords-Lieutenants were displaced; and the Popish Magistrates removed: The *Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes* was dissolved; and the Bishop of *Winchester* was ordered to settle the Society of *Magdalen College*

College according to their Statutes : The Suspension ^{A. D.} of the Bishop of *London* was took off ; and the other ^{1683.} Bishops who were lately treated with unwarrantable Indignity, were now burthened with the Court Favour. Thus that Fabric which the Popish Priests had been about four Years in erecting, was almost demolished by the Protestant Bishops in twelve Days.

THESE sudden Concessions seemed rather the Effect of popular Necessity than royal Inclination ; and the Sincerity of the King was greatly suspected, when he deferred the Restoration of Doctor *Hough*, and the ejected Fellows, to *Magdalen* College. His attempting, at this Time, to prove the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, contributed nothing to his Service ; especially as he had the Pope to stand Godfather to the young Prince. His Majesty declared he would personally oppose the Prince of *Orange* ; and dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland* from all his Employments, who was succeeded as Secretary of State by Lord *Preston* ; while Letters of Pardon were granted to Chancellor *Jefferies*, and several others, for their illegal Actions.

THE Prince of *Orange*, on the 30th of *September*, published a Declaration, consisting of 26 Articles, to satisfy the World that he was not going “ to conquer and subdue *England*.” His Highness enumerated the Grievances which the Nation sustained from the dispensing Power and the Growth of Popery : He declared, that he was invited by many Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Gentlemen, and others of all Ranks, to succour the Protestant Religion, and secure to them the Laws and Liberty of their Country : He protested, his Expedition was intended for no other Design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as possible ; to which the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales* should be referred : He promised to send back all the Foreign Forces, as soon as the State of the Nation would admit of it : He said, he would take Care to restore the ancient Constitution, and national Religion of *Scotland* ; as also to study the Happiness and Tranquility of *Ireland*. In a subsequent Declara-

A. D 1688. tion, he added, that the Forces he brought along with him, were utterly disproportioned to the *wicked Design of conquering the Nation*; and that the great Numbers of Nobility and Gentry who accompanied him, could not so far forget themselves, as to join in a Design that would make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours and Estates: He concluded, that there could be no Redress from the Violations of the Government but in Parliament, by a *Declaration of the Rights of the Subject that had been invaded*; and that he would refer all to a free and lawful Parliament.

THE States General published their Reasons for assisting his Highness in this Expedition; and justified their Conduct by the Suspicions they entertained that their Destruction had been concerted between *James and Lewis*. The Prince took his solemn Leave of their High Mightinesses, on the 16th of *October*, when they all melted into Tears; and, on the 21st his Highness set sail on this important Expedition, from *Helvoet Sluys*.

THE *Dutch Fleet* consisted of 57 Men of War, 500 Fly-boats, 60 Pinks, and 10 Fireships; on board of which were 14,000 Soldiers. The Prince was accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Macclesfield*; the Lords *Mordaunt*, *Wiltshire*, *Parvlet*, *Eland*, and *Dunblain*; Admiral *Herbert*, Admiral *Russel*, Colonel *Sydney*, Doctor *Burnet*, and several other *English Gentlemen*. Count *Schomberg*, Marshal of *France*, with his Son Count *Charles*, and about 300 *French Officers*, who had left their Country for their Religion, also attended his Highness, with the *Dutch Officers*. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van of the Fleet; the Prince was in the Center; and Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear. The Ship in which the Prince embarked carried the Colours of *England* at the Top-mast-head, and their Highnesses Arms, surrounded with this Motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND; and underneath were the Words *Je Maintiendraie*, or *I will maintain*, being the Motto of the House of *Nassau*.

THIS

THIS numerous Fleet was suddenly dispersed by a Storm, which continued two Days, and retarded the Expedition. The Damage sustained was purposely magnified, to lull the King in his Security; who returned to his former Conduct, when he heard of this Storm, and, laughing, said to *Barillon*, "at last then, the Wind has declared itself a Papist." He recalled several of his late Acts of Favour, particularly the Restoration of *Magdalen College*; and the Priests exalted, "that God had now recompensed them for the Destruction of the *Spanish Armada*." As the Prince declared he was invited by many Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the King required the Bishops to justify themselves, by declaring an *Abhorrence of the Prince's intended Invasion*. Though Abhorrences * went down smoothly in the former Reign, when the Church was permitted to share in the Triumphs of the Crown; not even the Requests of the King himself could now render them agreeable. The *Scotch Bishops* were more compliant, and were drawn into such a Declaration as amounted to an *Abhorrence*; upon which, Bishop *Sprat* observes, "that, as the *English Bishops*, by refusing to stand by the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, saved Episcopacy in *England*; so the *Scotish Bishops*, by adhering to that Doctrine, destroyed Episcopacy in *Scotland*."

THE Prince of *Orange* soon collected his scattered Fleet, without losing a Ship. The whole Armament was refitted, and resupplied, by the 1st of *November*, when the Prince set Sail again on his Expedition, with a favourable Wind at East. His Design was to make for the North, and to Land either in *Burlington-Bay*, or a little below *Hull*, in Conformity to the Advice he had received from the Earl of *Danby*, and Lord *Lumley*, who had engaged to procure a Rising in his Favour: But he altered his Course, when he found the *English Cruisers* had perceived his Motions. The whole Fleet tacked about, to the Westward; and, on the 3d, were discovered Midway between *Dover* and *Calais*, stretch-

ing

* See this Vol. p. 220.

A. D. 1688. 1688. ing down the Channel with all the Sail they could spread before the Wind at East-North-East, which prevented the *English* Fleet, commanded by Lord *Dartmouth*, from getting out of the *Thames*, and intercepting the *Dutch*. The Shores of *England* and *France* were covered with Multitudes of People, who stood gazing with Terror and Admiration, at the Appearance of an Armament more dreadful and glorious than had ever been beheld since the *Norman* * Invasion, 622 Years before. The Fleet formed a Line of above twenty Miles in Extent, and continued seven Hours in passing down the Channel, without any Interruption; steering for *Torbay* in *Devonshire*, as the most commodious Place for the Reception of such a Force. The principal Pilot out-run his Reckoning, and led the Fleet even beyond the Port of *Dartmouth*, which threw all into such a terrible Perplexity, that Admiral *Ruffel* thought nothing but a Miracle could prevent them from being overtaken by Lord *Dartmouth*, who made Use of the first Abatement of the Wind to weigh from the *Gunfleet*, one of the Channels by which Ships enter the Mouth of the *Thames*, and follow the *Dutch* with all possible Expedition. Providence, for its own inscrutable Ends and Purposes, preserved the Prince from falling into the Hands of his Pursuers, who were stopt in the Channel by a Calm, which began with an easy Gale at South, and carried the whole *Dutch* Fleet safely into *Torbay*, where the Forces were landed the same Night. It is very remarkable, that this happened on the 5th of *November*; while the *English* Nation were celebrating the Anniversary of the † Gun-Powder Treason, and preserving the Memory of their Deliverance from Popery in 1605. But Bishop *Burnet* says, the Prince was desirous to land on the 4th, which was the Anniversary both of his Birth and Wedding-Day.

THE

* See Vol. I. p. 163.

† See Vol. II. p. 179.

THE Coast was every where covered with People, A. D. who welcomed their *Deliverer* with loud Acclamations, ^{1688.} and brought all Manner of Refreshments for his Army, which marched the next Day to *Exeter*, where the Prince ordered his Declaration to be read; but was not so joyfully received as the Duke of *Monmouth* had been at *Taunton*. The Fleet found Protection at *Plymouth*; and the Prince lost but one Transport in this surprizing Adventure, which gave him the Crowns of three Kingdoms. While Lord *Dartmouth*, with a Fleet of 61 Ships, of which 38 were of the Line, was forced into *Portsmouth*.

A LETTER had been printed from the Prince of *Orange* to the Officers and Soldiers of the *English* Army; and another from Admiral *Herbert* to the Commanders and Seamen of the *English* Fleet. The Design of these Letters were to invite them to concur with the Prince in his Design to secure the Kingdom from Popery and Slavery; by advising them, not to be abused by a false Notion of Honour: But to prefer, as Men of Honour should, their Duty to God, their Religion, their Country, themselves, and their Posterity, to all private Considerations and Engagements. The Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, paid such Regard to these Letters, that the major Part of them seemed determined not to draw their Swords in this Quarrel, till they had a free Parliament to secure their Religion and Liberties; nor could the King prevail upon his Fleet to attack the *Dutch*.

THE King expected the Prince would have landed at the Mouth of the *Humber*, as the *Danes* * had done in 866: But when he found the *Dutch* had escaped the *English* Fleet, and landed at *Torbay*, he gave Orders for assembling the *English* Army on *Salisbury Plain* in *Wiltshire*, where the *Saxons* massacred the *Britons* in 457 †. The King had more Notice of this Invasion, than Queen *Elizabeth* ‡ had of the *Spanish* Armada in

* See Vol. I. p. 112. † *Ibid.* p. 56.

‡ See Vol. II. p. 153.

326 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. in 1588: But he neglected to follow her Example in
 1688. forming a Camp; so that his Army was dispersed in
 several Parts, and were a considerable Time before
 they could be collected together. If he had shewn
 such a Firmness as *Richard** the Third, on a similar
 Occasion, he might have prevented the Desertion of
 Numbers who would have adhered to him, while he
 preserved any Appearance of Resolution. It is true,
Richard the Third, as well as *Harold*† the Second, lost
 his Life in defending the Crown he had usurped: But
James the Second never struck a Blow in Defence of
 the Crown he had legally obtained.

THE Prince of *Orange* had his Army composed of
 14 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, containing 3660
 Men; and 15 Regiments of Foot, consisting of 10,692
 Men; in all 14,352. The King had 21 Regiments of
 Horse, and 3 of Dragoons, containing 6000 Men;
 and he had 31 Regiments of Foot, consisting of 15,000
 Men; in all 21,000; besides 92 Companies in Gar-
 rison Towns, and the national Militia. The royal
 Forces assembled at *Salisbury*; while the *Dutch* conti-
 nued at *Exeter*; and the King was so confident in his
 Superiority, that he publicly declared, "He would
 look upon all those as his Enemies, who should pre-
 tend to advise him to treat with the Invader of his
 Kingdoms." He said, the Prince intended to usurp
 his Crown: But that made little Impression upon the
 People, who soon looked upon him as the *Deliverer* of
 the Nation; though they were backward at first in
 joining him, on Account of the Dread they entertain-
 ed of the Severities shewn to the Adherents of the un-
 fortunate Duke of *Monmouth*.

LORD *Delamere* observes, "that when the Prince
 saw so very few resort to him, after he had been some
 Days on Shore, he began to look towards his Ships,
 and had certainly gone away if the Scene had not
 speedily changed." His Force was not sufficient to
 conquer the Kingdom, without dividing it against
 it.elf;

* See Vol. I. p. 399. † Ibid. p. 165.

itself; in which Case, no Kingdom can stand. But, on A. D. the 15th of *November*, Major *Burrington* of *Crediton*, ^{1688.} with several Gentlemen, joined the Prince at *Exeter*; and particularly Sir *Edward Seymour*, by whose Advice an *Association* was drawn up for the Security of their Religion, Laws, and Liberty, in a free Parliament. They also engaged to defend the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, in the same Manner as the Earl of *Leicester* formed the *Association* * in 1584, to protect the Person of Queen *Elizabeth* from the Attempts of the Papists. The Face of Affairs was suddenly altered; and the Prince found himself daily joined by Persons of Distinction. Lord *Cornbury*, Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, went over to the Prince, at the Head of the major Part of three Regiments of Horse: And the Earl of *Abington*, with Lord *Colchester*, followed this Example.

THE King saw the Defection was becoming general, and promised to call a Parliament when his Son-in-law quitted the Kingdom. He arrived at *Salisbury*, on the 19th, where he was soon convinced, that his Army would not fight against the Prince: But he was more surprized when he found himself deserted by his favourite Officers, and those on whom he had principally depended. Lord *Churchill* and the Duke of *Grafton* deserted his Majesty, whose Spirits were entirely sunk upon this unexpected Defection; and he returned with his Army towards *London*, with great Precipitation. But he met with a greater Mortification in his Return; for he was deserted at *Andover* by the Prince of *Denmark*, who went off with the young Duke of *Ormond* to the Prince of *Orange*; and a total Revolution was daily approaching.

THE Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Oxford*, offered their Services to the Prince. The Earl of *Bath* took Possession for him of *Plymouth*, where the *Dutch* Fleet lay in Security; and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* took *Bristol*. The Earl of *Devonshire* declared for a free Parliament, and headed the Gentlemen of *Derbyshire*:
The

A. D. 1688. The Earl of *Danby* did the same in *Yorkshire*; and Lord * *Delemere* in *Cheſhire*. There was a great Appearance of the Nobility and Gentry at *Nottingham*, who declared it was no Rebellion to reſiſt an arbitrary Prince, that made his own Will his Laws. It is remarkable that *Charles*† the Firſt ſet up his royal Standard at *Nottingham* in 1642; and that his Grandaughter was conducted there by the Earl of *Dorſet* in 1688: For his Son had alſo the Affliction to ſee himſelf deſerted by his own Daughter, the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who firſt went to *Nottingham*, and then followed her Huſband to *Oxford*; “being unhappily divided between Duty and Affection to a Father and a Huſband:” Whereby his Maſteſty was plunged in Difficulties that ſeemed inextricable: “God help me, cried the diſtreſſed Monarch, burſting into Tears, my own Children have forſaken me!” His Principles had been greatly miſguided: But his Fate was very ſingular; for it was religious Antipathy that expoſed him to public Danger; and it is ſeldom, in the Records of Hiſtory, that we find even the worſt of Princes abandoned by their own Family and Favouriteſ. But all theſe illuſtrious Perſons vindicated their Deſection by their Concern for the Proteſtant Religion: While the Populace had the Inhumanity to ſuſpect, that when the afflicted King was deſerted by his favourite Child, he had put her to Death; and, if her Safety at *Nottingham* had not been timely diſcovered, the Populace might have maſſacred the Papiſts.

THE Royal Army retired to *Reading*; and the Dutch Army marched to *Salisbury*, where the Prince of *Orange* was received with the loudeſt Acclamations of Joy by the Inhabitants. The Popiſh Agents withdrew out of the Kingdom, and Father *Petre* left the King expoſed to the Storm which he had raiſed. His Maſteſty received the Advice of ſeveral Peers, and promiſed to call a free Parliament on the 15th of *January* following. He appointed the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord *Godolphin*, as his Comiſſioners to treat

* See Vol. II. p. 285.

† Ibid. p. 229.

treat with the Prince of *Orange* about a Suspension of A. D. Arms, and an Accommodation. The Prince made his ^{1688.} Proposals with great Moderation; and if the King had readily embraced them in his Distress, he might have preserved his Crown, with a legal Diminution of the Rights claimed by himself, his Brother, Father, and Grandfather. But his Majesty still suffered himself to be directed by his Popish Councillors, and came to the Resolution of deserting his Kingdom, rather than retract what he had done in Favour of the *Roman Catholic* Religion. He accordingly implored the Protection of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, who promised him his Friendship. The Queen was told, she might be liable to a Parliamentary Impeachment, and accused of imposing an Heir upon the Crown; which made such an Impression, that she resolved to follow the Example of *Henrietta*,* Queen to *Charles* the First, by retiring into *France*, and obtained a Promise from the King that he would follow her as soon as it was convenient. Her Majesty, on the 10th of *December*, privately embarked with her Son, at *Gravesend*, in a small Vessel, which conveyed them safely to *Calais*; from whence they went to *Versailles*, where she was received by the *French* Monarch with great Marks of Affection. *Lewis* himself conducted her to *Chatou*, and said, "The Office I perform, at present, Madam, is a sorrowful one; but I hope soon to do others more important and agreeable." He also accompanied her to the Castle of *St. Germain en Laye*, 14 Miles from *Paris*, where she was entertained with the same Grandeur as if she had been Queen of *France*: she found a Purse of ten Thousand *Lewis-d'Ors* on her Toilet; and was supplied with every Thing which Convenience could require, or Luxury expected.

THE King was more depressed in his Adversity, than he had been elated in his Prosperity: He had not Courage to resist the Storm; but bent himself before it to the Ground: And the Popish Priests intimidated him,
by

* See Vol. II. p. 227.

A. D. 1658. by painting out the dismal Catastrophe of his Father. They committed Injustice to Nature and Honour, by representing the Prince of *Orange* as a Parallel to *Oliver Cromwell*. They even traduced the Virtue and Character of the Nation, by comparing this public Struggle for Liberty, with the fanatical Views of Tyranny. The People only wanted national Security; and, if they had received Satisfaction from the King, he had never been supplanted in his Throne by the Prince. But the King, being thus attacked by one Son-in-law, and abandoned by the other; having his two Daughters, as well as his Friends, become like Enemies; and being hated by his Subjects, fell into the utmost Despair; which induced him to Flight, the last Resource of a Prince when conquered. He was afraid to meet a free Parliament; as he had Reason to apprehend they would demand more than he was willing to grant. *Scotland* shewed her Inclination to revolt; and the Prince of *Orange* continued his March towards *London*; while nothing but a general Disaffection was to be seen all over *England*.

His Majesty ordered the Earl of *Feversham* to disband his Army; and privately withdrew from *Whitehall*, about three in the Morning, on the 12th of *December*. He went disguised down the River, in a small Boat, to *Gravesend*, accompanied only by Sir *Edward Hales*, *Sheldon*, and *Abbadie*; without acquainting any other with his Intention. He threw the Great-Seal in the *Thames*, that nothing could be legally done in his Absence; and this unparelled Desertion of his Kingdom left the Government in a greater State of Anarchy, than it had been left by *Richard Cromwell** in 1659. The King embarked in a small Vessel near *Feversham* in *Kent*: But was stopt by some Fishermen, who boarded the Vessel; took him for a Priest; and treated him with great Indignity, as they conducted him to the Town, even after they knew him to be their Sovereign. He

* See Vol. II. p. 392.

He sent for the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the Lord Lieutenant A. D. of the County, who prevailed on his Majesty to return ^{1688.} to *London*, and he was received near *Sittingbourn* by his Coach, and Body Guards, commanded by *Feverſham*.

As soon as the Flight of the King was made public, a general Consternation ensued, and the Mass-houses were destroyed all over the Kingdom by the Mob, with the same Fury that the Religious Houses had been pulled down in the Reign of *Henry* * the Eighth. About 30 Spiritual and Temporal Peers assembled, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at *Guildhall*, who resolved to adhere to the Prince of *Orange*, and sent Deputies to acquaint him of their Resolution. The Royal Army was disbanded by *Feverſham*; and the Prince invited them to his Service, which prevented the Country from falling a Prey to Moneyless Soldiers, after many Terrorers had been apprehended on that Account.

THE Return of his Majesty to *London*, on the 16th, threw the Prince of *Orange* in great Perplexity, who was advanced as far as *Windſor*. The King was restored to his Palace at *Whiteball*, and invited the Prince to St. *James's*; who desired his Father-in-law to retire from *London*, sent the *Dutch* Troops to Guard *Whiteball*, and had the King conducted to *Rochester*. The Papists secreted themselves; and Lord Chancellor *Jefferies* attempted to escape out of the Kingdom, but was taken in Disguise, severely treated by the Rabble, and committed to the Tower, where he soon afterwards died, loaded with Infamy for his Villainy, and universally detested for his Cruelty.

THE King made his last Act of Royalty in favour of the Papists, by commanding the Magistrates to suppress the riotous Assemblies: But he was now considered only as the Cypher of Majesty. He wanted to retain his Power; yet had not the Courage to attempt it, and quietly submitted to his melancholly Fate, when he found his Conduct despised, and himself neglected. He found those who had no Intention of putting an
End

* See Vol. II. p. 53.

A. D. 1688. End to his Life, thought of nothing so much as putting an End to his Reign ; and resumed his former Resolution of withdrawing to *France*. He had only the Title of Royalty, which was an Incumbrance, rather than an Advantage ; and, on the 23d of *December*, embarked on Board a Frigate, which carried him, with the Duke of *Berwick*, and some others, to *Ambleteuse* in *Picardy*, in the same Manner as his Brother *Charles* * the Second escaped to *Havre-de-Grace* in *Normandy* in 1651.

WHEN the King quitted *Rocheſter*, he left a Paper, written with his own Hand ; in which he represented the Necessity of his retiring to *France*, to preserve his Freedom, and be ready at Hand to redeem *England* from the Slavery it was like to fall under. He was at his own Liberty to retire ; and his Restoration was never desired by the Majority of the People ; who despised him the more for still insisting, that a general Toleration was necessary to render the Kingdom great and flourishing.

COMPASSION is the Characteristic of the *English* Nation, and many People thought that the King was too severely treated, when he was surrounded with a *Dutch* Guard, and ordered to quit his Palace at Midnight. But private Compassion subsided for the sake of public Deliverance. It had been proposed, by some who attended the Prince, to keep the King a Prisoner, to send him to the Tower, or transport him to *Breda* ; which was refused by the Prince, who declared he would not suffer any Violence to be offered to the Person of his Father-in-law. He had the Example of *Alexander* to shew a generous Protection to Majesty in Distress : But it was intimated, that the Prince of *Orange* was far from acting up to those Principles of Humanity and Generosity which the King of *Macedon* shewed to the Family of *Darius*, when he distinguished himself more by his Tenderness than by his Conquest. The Fears of the King were every Way worked upon to make him desert his Kingdom : The *Dutch* Troops were posted

* See Vol. II. p. 312.

posted in the *Tower*, and all round *London*: The Prince A. D. occupied *St. James's*, and was pestered by a Swarm of ^{1688.} Court-Flies, who had deserted *Whitehall*: A large Army was at his Devotion, and he had the Power of a Dictator, with the Appearance of a Deliverer.

JAMES hastened to his Queen at *St. Germain's*; where he was received by *Lewis* with great Respect, Affection, and Magnificence; being attended by the Royal Guards, and having six hundred thousand Livres, or about 50,000 *l.* Sterling, settled for the Expence of his Household. *Lewis* obtained new Glory by his Generosity; but *James* made a pitiful Figure, by deserting his Country, in the Eyes of all *Europe*. He saw none but Jesuits; and told them he was a Jesuit himself; which makes *Voltaire* observe, "that such Meanness of Soul in a Prince, and the Manner in which he had lost his Crown, made him appear in so contemptible a Light, that the Courtiers frequently amused themselves with making Songs at his Expence: So that he became the general Object of Ridicule in *France*: Nor were the Sarcasms thrown out against him softened by his being a *Roman Catholic*. Amidst these Distresses of this exiled Prince, and the many Kindnesses conferred on him by *Lewis* the Fourteenth, it may not be unworthy of our Attention to see *James* touching for the *King's-Evil* at the little *English* Convent; the Kings of *England* either assuming this wonderful Power from a Right they pretended to the Crown of *France*, or that it had been a Ceremony established since the Reign of *Edward* the First." But *Voltaire* forgot to mention, that *Edward* the Confessor touched for the *King's-Evil**; and that *Clowis* of *France* also pretended to work the same Miracle.

LEWIS afterwards gave *James* a powerful Assistance to recover his Dominions; in which he was unsuccessful, after repeated Attempts. The Royal Fugitive lived to see *Europe* involved in a general War; and died of a Lethargy, at *St. Germain's*, on the 6th of September

* See Vol. I. p. 159.

A. D. 1688. *ber* 1701, in the 68th Year of his Age; 13 Years after he had been deprived of his Crown, which he enjoyed only 3 Years, and 10 Months. His Body was deposited in the Monastery of the Benedictines in *Paris*, and his Heart sent to the Nunnery of *Chaillot*: But his Daughter *Mary* died almost seven Years before him; and his Son-in-law *William* survived him only six Months.

Fortune had little Share in the Beginning or End of this Revolution; since every Part of it may be accounted for from the different Characters of *James* and *William*. By the illegal Exertions of Power, and the Terrors of a Standing Army, the King lost all Authority, and even his Crown; as he drove those to Resistance, who had been the Advocates for Passive Obedience. Unexpectedly forsaken by his Children, meanly deserted by his Servants, tamely resigned by his Guards, and scandalously insulted by the Rabble, a potent King was driven from his Kingdom, and obliged to seek an Asylum in a foreign Dominion. Thus, like what is said of the Month of *March*, *James* the Second came into his Government like a Lion, and went out like a Lamb: While his Agents said, that *William* came in like a Conqueror, under the Mask of a Deliverer. The Prince never pretended any Right by Conquest; his Friends declared, it was a very unjust Calumny to argue, or even suppose, that he aspired to the Throne: While his Enemies said, they could not think it possible, that a Prince, who was born of one Daughter of *England*, and married to another, would bring Fire and Sword into the Kingdom, and fight personally against his Uncle and Father-in-law, to dethrone the King, unprince his Son, and seize the Crown for himself.

If *James* had many Faults, he had some Virtues; and perhaps many Princes have been as guilty, without being so unfortunate: But the Quarrel of the People against him was scrupulously just, because founded on Self-preservation. *Burnet* calls this, "a weak, inactive, violent, and superstitious Reign; in which all Regard to the Affairs of *Europe* seemed to be laid aside; and nothing was thought on but the spiteful Humours

of

of a revengeful *Italian* * Lady; and the ill laid, and worse managed, Projects of some hot meddling Priests, whose Learning and Politics were of a Piece; the one exposing them to Contempt, and the other to Ruin; involving in it a Prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to such Counsels, might have made a better Figure in History."

IF *James* had been a Protestant, or his Subjects *Roman* Catholics, he might have governed with Glory, and they submitted with Chearfulness. When he was Duke of *York*, he was looked upon as a faithful, sincere and honourable Friend: But a severe, brave, and open Enemy. He was then jealous of national Honour, industrious in the Promotion of Trade, and ambitious of improving the Navy. He was a kind Master, a fond Parent, and a tender Husband to his last Queen: But *Burnet* says, he was much addicted to Amours, and treated his first Dutchess very ill, though her Deportment was unexceptionable. This Right Reverend Historian even gives out, that it was generally believed, the Duke of *York* communicated the Venereal Disease to that Lady, which was what his Great Grandfather † had done to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. He says, the Dutchess "was so tainted with it, that it was the Occasion of the Death of all her Children, except the two Daughters, our Queens; and was believed the Cause of an Illness under which she languished long, and died so corrupted, that in dressing her Body after her Death, one of her Breasts burst, being a Mass of Corruption. The Duke was often ill: The Children were born with Ulcers, or they broke out upon them soon after: And all his Sons died young and unhealthy. This has, as far as any Thing that could not be brought in the way of Proof, prevailed to create a Suspicion, that so healthy a Child as the pretended Prince of *Wales* could neither be his, nor be born of any Wife with whom he had lived long. The violent Pain that his eldest Daughter had in her Eyes, and the Gout which has early seized

* See this Vol. p. 261. † See Vol. II. p. 129.

seized our present Queen, are thought the Dregs of a tainted Original". To all this the Bishop adds, that "Willis, the great Physician, being called to consult for one of his Sons, gave his Opinion in those Words, * *Mala Stamina Vitæ* ; which gave such Offence that he was never called for afterwards." And in another Place, he takes Occasion to say, of the Duke of York, "He did also allow me to speak to him of the Irregularities of his Life, some of which he very freely confessed : And when I urged him, how such a Course of Life did agree with the Zeal he shewed in his Religion ; he answered, must a Man be of no Religion unless he is a Saint †?"

If James had been excluded from the Crown, it would have been more for his own Honour, and the Happiness of his People ; than to rule them with such a heavy Hand, as to oblige them to call in another Prince to redress their Grievances. It was once vainly imagined, that the Honour of a Popish King could supersede, and take Place of his Religion. "But that invidious little Management of *Magdalen College* Affair, with huffing a Parcel of poor naked Fellows of a College, for not swallowing Perjury, without a Dispensation, shewed the Good-nature of this Monarch, equally with his Policy ; and set forth in Epitome his devout Observation of an Allowance to the Church of *England* Consciences." To support Popery, he would dissolve the Reformation : But some of his Friends have said, that he could not have introduced Popery, if he had endeavoured it ; and they also should have put in arbitrary Power. If he could not subdue the Understanding, he might have exercised a fatal Tyranny over the Will : For Father *Petre* shewed, that he would do as much in *England*, as *La Chaise* had done in *France* : And *Englishmen* knew of what force Edicts had been in *Hungary*, *France*, and *Savoy*. It was plain, that a Prince, infected with *Romish* Superstition, ought never to reign over Protestants, whose Religion and Liberty are equally dear

* See Burnet Vol. I. p. 228, † *Ibid.* p. 360.

dear to them as their Lives and Families. The Stream of the Constitution had been impured during four successive Reigns; and it was now absolutely necessary to clear the Channel, by throwing out the Weeds, and giving the Current an uninterrupted Course. Much more might be said, of the Character of *James* the Second: But we ought mildly to construe the Actions of Princes, and to take them by the best Part of the Handle in History: To speak well of them if we can justify it; and to be silent in doubtful Characters, if we cannot commend*.

THIS Prince had a stern Countenance, and comely Personage; with a strong Constitution, and active Disposition.

HIS surviving Children by Lady *Anne Hyde*, were the Princesses *Mary*, and *Anne*. The former † was born in 1662; and married, in 1678, to the Prince of *Orange*. The latter was born in 1664; and married to Prince *George* of *Denmark* in 1683. Both of these Princesses succeeded to the Throne of their Father: But neither of them left any issue to succeed themselves.

THE Children which *James* the Second had by the Princess ‡ of *Modena*, his second Wife, were dead; except her new-born Son, who was conveyed into *France*.

THE King had also Four Natural Children by Mrs. *Arabella Churchill*; and by Mrs. *Catherine Sidley*. Mrs. *Churchill* was Sister to *John* Duke of *Marlborough*; and was afterwards married to Colonel *Godfrey*. She bore the King, 1st. *James Fitz-James*, created Duke of *Berwick*, who was afterwards a Grandee of *Spain*, and Marshal of *France*. 2d. *Henry Fitz-James*, born in 1673; afterwards Lieutenant and Admiral of the *French* Gallies, and commonly called the Grand Prior, who was outlawed with his Brother the Duke of *Berwick* in 1695. 3d. *Henrietta*, married to *Henry* Lord *Waldgrave* in 1683. Mrs. *Sidley* was Daughter of Sir *Charles Sidley*, Bart. was created

VOL. III.

Q

Countess

* See this Vol. p. 261, and 262.

† Ibid. p. 41.

‡ Ibid. p. 181.

Countess of *Dorchester*; and afterwards married to *David* Earl of *Portmore*. By this Lady the King had *Catherine Darnley*, born in 1681; who first married *James* Earl of *Anglesea* in 1699, by whom she had *Catherine Annesley*, Wife of *William Phips*, Esq; Son of Sir *Constantine Phips*. The Countess of *Anglesea* afterwards married *John Sheffield* Duke of *Buckinghamshire*; and *Normanby*, by whom she had one Son named *Edmund*, who died in his Prime, lamented like *Marcellus*, by those who saw the Dawn of his Virtues.

IN 1685 died Sir *William Dugdale*, a great Antiquarian; and Mr. *Thomas Otway*, a Tragic Poet, who was suffered to perish with Hunger, in an Age ingrateful to Merit. *George Villiers*, the witty Duke of *Buckingham*, died in 1687, after he had spent all his Fortune, and acquired no Sense of Religion. Sir *William Petty* died the same Year, who was a good Physician, and a valuable Writer; as he imitated *Demosthenes* in the Use of political Arithmetic.

IN 1688, Charity-Schools began to be set up in *London*, with a View of retaining the poorer Sort of People from suffering their Children to be enticed into the Papist-Schools, and Seminaries. King *James* augmented the Standing Army left by his Brother in *England* to 30,000 Men; and he left the Care of the Navy to Secretary *Pepys*, who increased it to 173 Vessels of all Sizes. The yearly Revenue of the King generally amounted to 2,061,800*l.* and his Economy was so great, that his annual Issues seldom exceeded 1,700,000*l.* with which he supported his Civil List, Army, and Navy; therefore, it is probable, he had large Sums of Money deposited in private Hands. And, in this short Reign, the Increase of the Coinage was 2,737,637*l.* which arose from the Prosperity of Trade; while the King hurt the grand Source of Commerce, by recalling the Charters of the *American* Colonies, and oppressing them with tyrannical Government.

Deluded Prince! thy short, inglorious Reign,
Convinc'd the Nations, Tyrants rule in vain.

See, weeping *Liberty* thy Presence flies;

And mild *Religion* at her Altar dies:

See, *Superstition* mounts her bloody Car;

And Iron-handed *Pow'r* provokes the War.

Illustrious *Monmouth*, and the brave *Argyle*,

Together, banish'd from their native Isle,

Boldly attempt their Countries to invade;

And gain the *Scotch*, and *English*, to their Aid:

But all in vain. — The Throne, they strove to shake,

Is fix'd more firmly by the Force they make.

Argyle retires*; and yields, with scarce a Blow:

While *Sedgemoor's* † Field laid *Monmouth's* Glory low.

Their noble Blood, the Sister-Kingdoms saw

Shed on the Scaffold; cruel *Pow'r* of Law!

But, as they bled, the Sister-Kingdoms wept;

And, long, their Memories have sacred kept.

Insatiate *Jefferies*, and savage *Kirk* ‡,

Rejoyc'd, like Tygers, in their bloody Work.

Oh! Shame to Law; where, then, was *Mercy* heard?

Oh! Shame to *Pow'r*; where then, was Age, or Sex,
rever'd?

Imperious on the Throne, the King would awe

The Senate, by his arbitrary Law;

And, with a *Dissolution* curbs the Voice

Of *Freedom*, struggling for her noblest || Choice.

Down goes her Fabric, to the Basis shook:

The *Constitution*, violently strook,

Totters: The sacred *Charters* are prophan'd;

And *Rome* beholds her Temples fill the Land:

The Sages of the *Law*, pervert its Stream:

An *INQUISITION* shews its baleful Beam!

All is *Confusion*; and a *Popish* Heir

Adds greater Lustre to the *Papal* Chair:

While *England's* *Prelates*, for their good Intent

To guard *Religion*, are to Prison sent!

Q 2

Unhappy

* See this Vol. p. 274. † Ibid. p. 277. ‡ Ibid.
p. 279. || See Vol. II. p. 198.

Unhappy BRITAIN ! *Freedom*, on thy Shore,
 Seems ready for her Flight, to come no more.
 But hark ! She lifts her Voice, she waves her Hand,
 Imploring Succour from the *Belgic* Strand.
 And, see ! great *Nassau* comes, to guard her Throne ;
 And pull the Pile of Papal Plunder down.
 O'er the brave Chief, *Religion* spreads her Wing :
 Around, the *Graces* dance ; the *Muses* sing :
 Beside him, fair *Astrea* holds her Sword ;
 And *Peace*, with *Plenty*, scatters *Flora's* Hoard :
 Behind him, *Honour* leads the Martial Band ;
 And *Freedom ! Freedom !* echoes o'er the Land :
 Before the glorious Sound, the heart-shrunk Slave
 Flies trembling ; while it animates the Brave.
 The Papal Chain is broke : *James* quits the Crown ;
 And seeks Protection from a foreign Throne.
 BRITANNIA is restor'd ! She smiles again,
 More glorious to assume her martial Reign,
 And vindicate her Empire o'er the Main. }

So, the poor Mariners, when Storms arise,
 Look vainly for the *Pleiads* in her Skies.
 Fear ev'ry Blast, and think that ev'ry Wave,
 Will snatch them sudden to a watry Grave.
 When lo ! some *Angel* bids the Tempest cease :
 The Winds are hush'd ; the Waves are all at Peace.
 Again, the Star-clad Heav'ns their Glories show ;
 The *Pleiads* with a brighter Beauty glow :
 The Mariners by them direct their Course ;
 And wonder how they 'scap'd the Tempest's Force !

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

The EIGHTH PART.

From the REVOLUTION in 1688, to
the Accession of the House of HANO-
VER in 1714.



The INTERREGNUM ; from the Abdication of James the Second, on the 25th of December 1688 ; to the Accession of William the Third, and Mary the Second, on the 13th of February 1689.

CHARLES the Second was always sensible, that the zealous Promoters of absolute Power intended his Grandeur, only as a Means to accomplish other Projects: Therefore, when he saw himself engaged in very dangerous Courses, he forsook them as well as he could; leaving his Counsellors, his Ministers, and even his own Brother*, in the Danger. But *James* the Second, in pursuing an opposite Course, entirely gave himself up to the Councils of those who wanted only to attain their own Ends; without regarding to what Danger they exposed him, by their violent Proceedings.

VOLTAIRE judiciously observes, that few Princes had been more unfortunate than *James*; nor have we any Instance in History of a Family so unhappy for such a Number of Years. The first of his Ancestors, who reigned over *Scotland*, and was likewise named *James*, after having been Eighteen Years a Prisoner† in *England*; was, together with his Queen, murdered by his own Subjects. *James* the Second his Son was killed‡ in a Battle with the *English*, at the Age of Nineteen. *James* the Third, being first imprisoned by his People, was afterwards killed|| in the Field by the Rebels. *James* the Fourth also lost his Life§ in an unfortunate

Q 4

Battle.

* See this Vol. p. 176, and 210. † See Vol. I. p. 336. ‡ Ibid. 371. || See Vol. II. p. 13. § Ibid. p. 37.

Battle. *Mary Stewart*, his Grandaughter, having been driven from her Throne, took Refuge in *England*; where, after languishing in Prison Eighteen Years, she was condemned to Death by *English* Judges, and accordingly * Beheaded. *Charles* the First, her Grandson, King of *England*, as well as *Scotland*, being delivered up by the *Scotch*, was sentenced to Death by the *English*, and suffered publicly on a † Scaffold. *James* his Son, the seventh of the Name, and second of *England*, was driven out of his three Kingdoms; and, as a farther Aggravation of his Misfortunes, even the Legitimacy of his Son was disputed. This Son made Efforts ‡ to regain the Throne of his Ancestors; but they proved fruitless, and were only the Occasion of many of his Friends suffering Death by the Hands of public Executioners. We have also, says the Author of the Age of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, seen *Charles Edward* || in vain exerting the Virtues of his Royal Ancestors, and the Courage of his Mother's Grandfather King *John Sobieski*: This Youth has performed great Exploits, and undergone the most incredible Hardships; but all to no Purpose. If any Thing can justify the Opinion of those who believe in a Fatality, according to which the Affairs of Mankind are governed, it is this continued series of Misfortunes, which has persecuted the *Stewart* Family for above three hundred Years. And it is observed, that of more than a hundred Kings who reigned in *Scotland* before *James* the Sixth, half of them came to violent Deaths.

WHAT the Exclusionists formerly wanted, § the King had now committed himself, by deserting his People. He had founded a permanent Right of dispensing with *Laws*, upon some transient Usurpations; because his corrupted Judges had drawn a general Conclusion from particular

* See Vol. II. p. 133, and 149. † *Ibid.* p. 256, and 281. ‡ See *Rolt's History of the War*, Vol. IV. p. 95, 97, 103. || *Ibid.* p. 106, 109, 115, 123, 125, 130, 149, 153, 155, 157, 171, 174, 178, 182, 189, 194, 198, 204, 211, § See this Vol. p. 215.

particular Cases. And he made such notorious Infracti-
ons on the Liberties of the People, that they could no
longer submit to his Authority : For, however the Peo-
ple of *England* were divided in Parties among them-
selves; they readily united when their Religion and
Liberty were invaded ; for which Union against their
King they had the Examples of their Ancestors.

UPON these Occasions, the Question is, whether the
Power of the Civil Magistrate be limited ; or whether,
the Nature of his Office requires it to be so ? — But is
it the End of that Office that one particular Person
may do what he pleases without Restraint ? Or that
Society should be made happy and secure ? — Who
will say the former ? And if the latter is true, a less
Power than absolute will answer it : Nay, an absolute
Power is a Power to destroy that End ; and therefore,
inconsistent with the End itself.

It has always been considered, that a King of *Eng-
land* can do no Wrong himself ; nor give Authority to
any one else to do Wrong. The People can never have any
Motive to refuse just Allegiance to their Prince, while the
Ligaments of the *Constitution* are preserved entire ; that
is, whilst Parliaments are suffered to meet, the Courts of
Justice remain open, and such Force is not used against
them as dissolves all Relation. The Examples of *Rich-
ard* the Second, and *James* the Second, are no In-
stances to disprove the Truth of this Assertion : For
neither of them was deposed by the People, before he
first deposed himself. Nor have the Champions for
Tyranny, or Dogmatizers for unlimited Dominion, as
yet asserted, that a Prince may not resign his Crown by
the Consent of his People, when he declines to hold it
any longer, upon the Conditions which he first accept-
ed it. The Person of a Prince should be sacred : But
a Prince who refuses to govern according to the Laws,
and acts in open Violation of them, may thereby make
as effectual a Renunciation and Resignation of his Go-
vernment, as if he disabled himself, and resigned it
for his Ease, or from the Satiety of Power.

THE Trust delegated to a King of *England*, was a
Trust which he was to swear faithfully to perform :

For the People have always reserved a Liberty of inspecting his Administration; of making him, responsible for it; and of expelling him from the Sovereignty, upon egregious Violations of the *Constitution*, and universal Failures in the Royal Trust consigned to his Authority.

THIS Right was interwoven with the first Threads of the *Anglo-Saxon* Constitution, and preserved both by the *Danes* and *Normans*: But this fundamental Part of the *Constitution* has been very imperfectly sketched by all Kinds of Writers, who have only skimmed over the Surface of the Stream; which makes it proper here to look into the Bottom, and trace the Current to its Fountain-head. In this Retrospection, we shall find, that *Cerdic* (a) founded the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, which subdued all the *Heptarchy* under *Egbert*, from whom the House of *Hanover* is descended: Yet *Ceaulin*, (b) the Grandson of the Great *Cerdic*, was expelled the Throne, and banished, by the confederate Princes of the *Heptarchy*, for aspiring at too much Power over them all, when he was Monarch of the Confederacy. *Edwin*, (c) King of *Northumberland*, was also at the Head of the *Heptarchy*, and was killed in Battle by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, for endeavouring to make himself absolute over the other Kingdoms. *Sigebert*, (d) King of *Wessex*, was deposed by his Subjects, for violating their Laws, and acting like a Tyrant. *Alfred*, (e) *Osulph*, *Alfwold*, *Ofred*, and *Ethelred*, were murdered: *Ethelwald* was opposed: And *Alured*, *Oswald*, and *Eardulf*, were all banished by their *Northumbrian* Subjects. *Ethelbald*, (f) King of *Mercia*, Chief of the *Heptarchy*, was killed by *Beornred*, for extending his Prerogative: But *Beornred* was banished; and *Ceolwulph* was expelled by *Beornulf*.

Thus it appears, that the *Saxons*, during the *Heptarchy*, would never suffer their Princes to govern in an arbitrary Manner. We shall find, after *Egbert* (g) had dissolved

(a) See Vol. I. p. 57, 71, 100. (b) *Ibid.* p. 72, 95.
 (c) *Ibid.* p. 78. (d) *Ibid.* p. 74. (e) *Ibid.* p. 81, 82, 83.
 (f) *Ibid.* p. 86, 88. (g) *Ibid.* p. 101,

dissolved the *Heptarchy*, and united them as one common Kingdom, under the Name of ENGLAND, that the *Saxons* retained the same Spirit in opposing those Kings who attempted to make them Slaves. *Ethelwulf*, (b) the Son and Successor of the great and adored *Egbert*, had an Insurrection formed against him, for his violent Attachment to the Papal See, and withdrawing his Protection from his Subjects, who obliged him to resign the greatest Part of his Dominions to his Son *Ethelbald*. Even the Priests obliged *Edwy* (i) to yield Part of his Kingdom to his Brother *Edgar*; whose Son *Edward* (k) was killed by his Mother-in-law *Elfrida*.

WHEN the rude *Danes* (l) invaded *England*, they brought with them the same Notions as the *Saxons* about the Resistance of Tyrants. These more barbarous *Goths* were of the same Original (m) with the *Saxons*; and afterwards blended (n) with them as the same People. *Sweyn* (o), the King of *Denmark*, and the Founder of the Royal *Danish* Line in *England*, was murdered by his own Soldiers for his Tyranny. *Harold* (p), the Grandson of *Sweyn*, was hated as an Usurper by the *English*, and dreaded as a Tyrant by the *Danes*; who jointly invited his Brother *Hardicanute*, King of *Denmark*, to dispossess him of his Throne.

WHEN the *Saxon* Line was restored in *Edward* (q) the Confessor, that Prince was opposed by his Father-in-law, for endangering the Constitution, by paying too much Respect to the *Normans*, who thereby got Possession of the Kingdom. And *Harold* (r), who succeeded *Edward*, was invaded and slain by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, because he was an Usurper.

It is no Wonder that *Aristotle* should talk of implicit Obedience to Princes; when he was Governor to *Alexander*: But it is surprizing that Sir *Walter Raleigh* should

(b) See Vol. I. p. 109, 110. (i) *Ibid.* p. 136.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 140. (l) *Ibid.* p. 75. (m) *Ibid.* p. 47, 103.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 144, 147, 149, 154, 155, 161. (o) *Ibid.* p.

145. (p) *Ibid.* p. 152. (q) *Ibid.* p. 155, 157. (r) *Ibid.* p. 161, 165.

should quote *Aristotle* in Defence of Non-resistance; since he lost his Life for projecting a Conspiracy (a) to limit the Power of *James* the First when he ascended the Throne of *England*. However, *Grotius* says, if the King has one Part of the Supreme Power, and the other Part is in the Senate, or People; when such a King shall invade that Part that does not belong to him, it shall be lawful to oppose a just Force to him, because his Power does not extend so far.

GROTIUS seems to have founded his Opinion upon the Constitution of the *English* Government, which is of *Saxon* (b) Original, and the sovereign Power was compounded of these six Parts. 1st, Legislative Power, or Authority to make Laws. 2d, Executive Power; which consists in creating Officers to execute the Laws, and discharge all the Duties of Government, in a legal Manner. 3d, A Power of making War and Peace. 4th, A Power of raising Money for the Support of Government. 5th, The last Appeal in all Cases of Law. 6th, The Coinage, or Power over the Mint. But there are only three of these six Parts lodged solely in the Person of the King; which are, the Executive Power of making War and Peace, and the Coinage. From this Division of the Sovereign (c) Power, may be seen the Extent of the regal Authority (d), and the Nature of the Allegiance due to the King; which *Henry* (e) the Seventh brought into more regular Channels than any of his Predecessors.

THE *Danes* (f) confirmed the *Saxon* Laws: But the *Normans* (g) made some Engraftments upon them. *William* the Conqueror swore to observe the *Saxon* (b) Laws; which he neglected, and thereby occasioned Insurrections.

William

(a) See Vol. II. p. 174, (b) See Vol. I. p. 49, 63, 65, 73, 88, 95, 101, 105, 116, 155, 159, 123, 171.
 (c) See Vol. II. p. 66. see this Vol. p. 3, 8, and 259.
 (d) See Vol. I. p. 256, 271. (e) See Vol. II. p. 5.
 (f) See Vol. I. p. 103, 149, 154. (g) *Ibid.* p. 160, 66, 172, 176, 181. (h) *Ibid.* p. 173, 175.

William Rufus was more (i) arbitrary than his Father. *Henry the First* acted with more Moderation (k), drew up a Charter of the *English* Liberties, and married the *Saxon* Heirefs. *Stephen* also granted a Charter (l) of Liberties, without observing it afterwards; which drew on him the Resentment of his Barons, who threw him in Prison. *Henry the Second* (m) was of the *Saxon* as well as of the *Norman* Line, and confirmed the Charter of *Henry the First*. The *Saxon* Laws were promised to be observed by (n) *Richard the First*: But, as none of the *Norman* Princes had punctually performed their Promises, the Peers elected *John*, on Condition (o) that he would restore their Privileges: He afterwards aspired at arbitrary (p) Power; and the Barons defended their Liberties so well, that they made him ashamed of his Vassalage to the Pope, and obliged him to grant them (q) *MAGNA CHARTA*. *Henry the Third* at first (r) confirmed the Great Charter; which he afterwards neglected; and then gave it the most solemn Confirmation: But after that, he wanted to revoke it, and the Barons compelled him to ratify it. *Edward the First* (s) confirmed *Magna Charta*; and would have afterwards cancelled it, if he had not been prevented by his People. *Edward the Second* at first seemed to regard the Liberties (t) of his Subjects: But he soon shewed that was not his Intention; and the Barons at last deposed him for the Breach of his Coronation Oath. *Edward the Third* confirmed *Magna Charta* ten Times, and added to the Liberties (u) of his Subjects. *Richard the Second* was solemnly deposed for violating (w) the Privileges of the People founded on *Magna Charta*. *Henry* (x) the Fourth confirmed the Rights and Privileges
of

(i) See Vol. I. p. 184. (k) *Ibid.* p. 194, 195. (l) *Ibid.* p. 205, 207, 208. (m) *Ibid.* p. 214, 217, 223. (n) *Ibid.* p. 227. (o) *Ibid.* p. 242. (p) *Ibid.* p. 244, 247, 249, 251. (q) *Ibid.* p. 253. (r) *Ibid.* p. 258, 260, 263, 265, 266, 268, 269. (s) *Ibid.* p. 274, 281, 283, (t) *Ibid.* p. 287, 291, 294. (u) *Ibid.* p. 305, 309, 316. (w) *Ibid.* p. 321, 322, 324. (x) *Ibid.* p. 331, 337, 338.

of the People ; but afterwards was inclined to an absolute Government, and then treated his Subjects better than ever. *Henry* the Fifth, very politely shewed his Regard to the Liberties (a) of the People ; from which Time, the Prerogatives of the King, and the Privileges of the Parliament, seemed firmly settled for about 180 Years, when *James* (b) the First began to infringe upon the Constitution by diminishing the Privileges of Parliament. *Charles* (c) the First followed his Example, and lost his Life. *Charles* (d) the Second trod in the same Steps, without meeting with the same Fate. But *James* (e) the Second lost his Crown, for violating the Laws and Liberties of his People.

THUS King *John*, *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, *James* the First, *Charles* the First, and *James* the Second, all failed in their arbitrary Views (f) ; and others were opposed as Tyrants : Which seems to justify the Observation of *Tasso*, " that many are Servants by Fortune, who are naturally Princes ; and that some are born to be Slaves, though descended from a hundred Kings." There are many Instances of Princes, in other Countries, who have been deprived of their Government.

* IN Scotland ; *Durustus*, *Donald*, *Ethus*, *Malcolm* the Second, *Macbeth*, and *James* the Third, were deposed for their arbitrary Proceedings. In France (g), *Childeric*, and *Theodoric*, were excluded the Throne, for their evil Government.

(a) See Vol. I. p. 341, 354. (b) See Vol. II. p. 175, 176, 181, 185, 189, 196. (c) *Ibid* p. 200, 202, 205, 208, 210, 215, 219, 223, 229, 238, 255, 277. (d) See this Vol. p. 44, 48, 60, 65, 68, 72, 77, 87, 117, 143, 149, 173, 175, 209, 213, 232, 242, 246. (e) *Ibid* p. 258, 264, 270, 271, 287. (f) See Vol. I. p. 270. and Vol. II. p. 260. (g) See *Rolt's History of France* p. 28, 35.

* As no Author has taken the Pains to point out these foreign Examples, they are set down for the Satisfaction of the curious Reader.

Government. In *Spain* (b); *Alphonso* the Third, *Sancho*, *Alphonso* the Tenth, and *Peter* the Cruel, were expelled, for their tyrannical Oppression: And the States of *Holland* threw off their Obedience to *Spain*, from the same Motives. *Don Sancho* the Second, *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, and *Alphonso* the Sixth were deposed in *Portugal* (i). In *Denmark* (k), *Canute* the Fourth, *Eric* the Sixth, *Christoph* the Second, *Eric* the Eighth, *Christiern* the Second, and *Cisternus*, were deprived of the regal Authority. In *Sweden* (l), *Ingellus*, *Bero*, *Asmund*, *Ingo*, *Sawercher* the Third, *Waldemar*, *Birkel*, *Magnus*, *Albert*, *Eric*, *Charles*, *Christern* of *Denmark*, *Eric* the Fourteenth, and *Sigismund*, were also deposed, for their Perversion of the Laws. In *Poland* (m); *Lechus*, *Casimir*, *Boleslaus*, *Micislaus*, *Prenislaus*, *Uladislaus* the Third, *Henry*, and *Augustus*, were dethroned. And even in *Germany* (n) the Emperors *Charles* the First, *Henry* the Fourth, *Hotbo* the Fourth, *Aldolph*, *Lewis*, and *Wenceslaus*, were expelled from the Imperial Dignity by the Electors, for their evil Government.

It was not the Rape of *Lucretia* by *Sextus*, that expelled his Father *Tarquin* from the Kingly Government in *Rome*: But his Expulsion was occasioned by his breaking the Laws, and depriving the Senate of all Authority. Therefore, let Princes know, that they begin to lose their Power, when they begin to violate the Laws, and the ancient Customs of the State.

THE best, the wisest, and most courageous of despotic Princes, have frequently lamented the unhappy Condition, into which they were betrayed by their Greatness. If they had set up *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, or *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, for their Examples, they would have governed with Glory to themselves, and Happiness.

(b) See Puffendorf's *Introduction*, Vol. I. p. 42. 43, 62, 66. (i) *Ibid.* p. 121, 128, 130. (k) *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 179, 181, 182, 184. (l) *Ibid.* p. 198, 200, 204, 205, 207, 210, 211, 213, 223, 229. (m) *Ibid.* p. 289, 291, 292, 293, 296, 313. *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 346, 350, 352, 354, and 355.

ness to their People; for it is much easier to be beloved by the Good, than the Bad; and to obey the Laws, than command over them.

BURNET (a) says, he carried a Volume of Judge *Crook's* to King *James* the Second, when Duke of *York*, in which it is reported, "that King *James* (b) had once in Council complained of a Slander cast on him, as if he intended to change his Religion; and had solemnly vindicated himself from the Imputation; and prayed, that if any should ever spring out of his Loins, that should maintain any other Religion than that which he truly maintained and professed, that God would take him out of the World." It may also be recollected, that *James* the First invoked a Curse (c) on his Posterity, in the Affair of *Somerſet*. He never expected such heavy Invocations would fall upon his Family: But they happened to *Charles* the First, and *James* the Second, as fatally as what *Dunſtan* (d) predicted of *Ethelred* the Second; or as remarkably as the Curse laid by (e) *Edward* the First, on his Son *Edward* the Second.

JAMES the Second deserted his Kingdom, like *Ethelred* (f) the Second; and the People acted like the *Polanders*, who immediately elected a new King, when the (g) Duke of *Anjou* quitted their Kingdom. *Edward* the Second (h) abdicated the Realm; and like *James* the Second took the Great Seal away: He was solemnly deposed, and the People absolved from their Oath of Allegiance; after which, that unfortunate Monarch was basely murdered; but was succeeded by his glorious Son *Edward* the Third, whose inglorious Grandson (i) *Richard* the Second was deposed, and murdered, like his Great Grandfather *Edward* the Second. It may also be observed, that *Richard Cromwell* (k) formally abdicated his

(a) See Burnet, Vol. I. p. 359. (b) *James the First*.
 (c) See Vol. II. p. 186, 187. (d) See Vol. I. p. 141.
 (e) *Ibid.* p. 287. (f) *Ibid.* p. 145. (g) See Puffendorf.
 Vol. II. p. 296. (h) See Vol. I. p. 294, 295. (i) *Ibid.* p.
 324, 325. (j) *Ibid.* p. 324, 325. - (k) See Vol. II. p. 395.

his Government *Stephen* (l) was deserted by his People: But swore, " he would never be called an *abdicated* King." It was imagined, that *Charles* (m) the First would have *abdicated* the Crown, in Favour of his eldest Son; and have followed the Example of the Emperor *Charles* (n) the Fifth, who voluntarily *abdicated* the Throne of *Spain* in 1556, in Favour of his Son *Philip*.

It was almost a fashionable Thing among the *Saxon* Princes in *England*, and those of the *Merovingian* Race in *France*, to make a voluntary Abdication of their Crowns, and retire into Convents. *Ina* (o), *Sebba*, *Offa*, *Ceolwulph*, *Edgbert*, *Sigebert*, and *Ethelred*, chose to turn Monks, rather than continue Kings: But the Princes, who ruled after the Dissolution of the *Hep-tarchy*, shewed more Affection to the regal Dignity, than Submission to the Papal Authority. *John*, indeed, was too subservient to the Pope; and *James* the Second trod in his Steps. *Alphonso* the Sixth of *Spain*, *abdicated* the Crown, and retired into a Monastery in 930. *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*, in 1654, resigned her Crown, in favour of her Nephew *Charles Gustavus*, retired into *France*, and died in a Convent in *Rome*. *John Casimir* King of *Poland*, *abdicated* his Crown, in 1670, and retired to the Abbey of *St Germain* in *France*, where he died. And, in 1730, *Victor Amadeus* the Second, King of *Sardinia*, *abdicated* his Crown in favour of his Son *Charles Emanuel* the Third. But *Victor*, and *Alphonso* of *Spain*, would have gladly resumed their Authority.

THE Kingdom was *abdicated* by *James*, the Second; and though the Laws of *England* allow of no Interregnum, there was now one; which had happened before in 1066, when *William* the First conquered (p) *Harold* the Second; as also, in 1399, when *Richard* the Second was deposed (q) by *Henry* the Fourth; and in 1649, when the Republicans (r) murdered *Charles* the First. But there was a material Difference at this Time; for the

(l) See Vol. I. p. 206, (m) See Vol. II. p. 279.
 (n) Ibid. p. 105. (o) See Vol. I. p. 74, 76, 82, 83, 86,
 98. (p) Ibid. p. 165. (q) Ibid. p. 329. (r) Ibid. p. 292.

the King was not dead, though the Throne was vacant. There was no supreme Authority subsisting; and the Government was quite unhinged; nor was there any Example to serve for a Precedent, and settle the Administration.

A. D.
1688.

As the Prince of *Orange* had delivered the People, he wanted to be elected their King; for, though he was invested with the Power of a Conqueror, he prudently disclaimed any Title of Conquest. He could not be elected without a Parliament; and as the Peers were the only Part of the Legislature that could act with any Authority, they alone were intitled to take Care of the State, or the State was to remain in Anarchy. The King had deserted the Kingdom, on the 23d of *December*; and, in such Circumstances, it is in vain to appeal to Laws, Customs, or Precedents. The Peers and Bishops, to the Number of about Ninety, consulted together at *Westminster* on this extraordinary Occasion; and, on the 25th of *December*, presented an Address to the Prince of *Orange*, requesting him, "to take upon him the Administration of public Affairs, both Civil and Military; the Disposal of the public Revenue; and the Care of *Ireland*, till the Meeting of a Convention, which they desired he would call by issuing Circular Letters missive to the Protestant Peers, the Coroners of the several Counties, and chief Magistrates of Cities, and Boroughs." But the Prince thought this Way of Proceedure would be acting upon an imperfect Authority, as it wanted the Concurrence of the People, who were now without their Parliamentary Representatives; and it was, therefore, judged proper to invite all the surviving Members who had sat in Parliament during the Reign of *Charles* the Second; because they were esteemed more *Constitutional* than those who had sat in the Reign of *James* the Second. To these old Members were added the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and 50 of the Common Council of *London*; who were collectively considered as the best Representative of the People, when no Parliament was existing.

THE

THE Word *Convention*, was a new Term in the Eng- A. D.
lish Constitution; and was only used, in a parliamen- 1688.
tary Sense, upon the Restoration of *Charles* the Second:
But the *Convention* * of the Year 1660, had been first
called under the Name of a Parliament; and the Word
itself was probably borrowed from what was practised
in *Scotland* †, where a Distinction was made between a
Convention of the State, and a Parliament. About 160
of the old Commoners, and the Magistracy of *London*,
waited on the Prince of *Orange*, at *St. James's*, on the
26th of *December*; when he desired their Advice, how
to call a free Parliament? They retired to the House
of Commons, and addressed the Prince in the same
Manner as the Lords had done. The *Convention* was
to meet on the 22d of *January*; and, as the Prince
was now invested with the Executive Power, he or-
dered *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador, to leave the King-
dom, because he had been promoting Divisions to serve
the King. His Highness conformed himself to the Church
of *England*; which was necessary as he had been bred a
Presbyterian; and his Enemies might have objected,
that a Calvinist would make as unsuitable a Head to
the Church of *England* as a Papist. This was no more
than an occasional Conformity, and the Presbyterians
assured him of their Affection, as they were sensible
he would restore their Religion in *Scotland*, and give it
ample Toleration in *England*. The Princess of *Denmark*
was entirely governed by Lord *Churchil* and his Lady,
who brought Doctor *Tillotson* to her, and soon prevailed
upon a Princess who discovered no Impatience to get
possession of a Crown that had been wrested from her
Father, to wave her Pretensions of lineal Right, and
acquiesce to a Settlement of the Crown on the Prince of
Orange, in Consideration of receiving a Parliamentary
Allowance sufficient to support her Court in Splendor.
The City lent the Prince 200,000 *l.* to disband the
Army, which was only reformed, and new modelled
to

* See Vol. II. p. 414, and this Vol. p. 17. † See
Vol. II. p. 407.

A. D. 1688. **TO** his own Inclination; for Major-General *Oglethorp*, Major-General *Sackville*, and some other principal Officers, would not engage in his Service. But Lord *Dartmouth* obeyed his Orders, and purged the Fleet of all its Papists Officers; whereby the Prince had two Armies, and two Fleets, under his Command; with all the Springs of the Government, as well as the Credit of the Trust, and the Terror of his Forces, to employ towards his own Establishment.

It was also necessary at this Time to consult the Interest of *Scotland*, which had been heavily oppressed in the two last Reigns, by having Episcopacy imposed upon the People, and an arbitrary Power supported in the Kingdom. The Prince of *Orange* had published the same Declaration for *Scotland* as for *England*; and the *Scotch* Bishops signed an Abhorrence of his Expedition: But the Populace obliged the Prelates to secrete themselves; and many principal Persons repaired to *London*, to regulate their Conduct by what was done in *England*. About thirty *Scotch* Lords, and eighty Gentlemen, were also assembled by the Prince at *St. James's*, who chose Duke *Hamilton* their President, and they followed the Example of the *English* by inviting the Prince to accept of the Administration of *Scotland*.

IRELAND was far from being so well affected to the Prince; as it was governed by the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who was a zealous Papist, and had a Popish Army of 4000 Men in the Country; with which he was determined to adhere to the King, while he pretended to treat with the Prince. General *Hamilton* was sent from *England*, to prevail upon *Tyrconnel* to surrender *Ireland*: But *Hamilton* broke his Faith, and persuaded him to hold it for the King; which soon occasioned the *Irish* War: Though if the *English* Fleet had been sent over at this Time, *Ireland* must have submitted without Bloodshed.

A. D. 1689. **THE** Convention was freely elected, and both Houses met at *Westminster* on the 22d of *January*, when the Marquis of *Hallifax* was chosen Speaker for the Lords, and Mr. *Henry Powle* for the Commons. Most of the Members.

Members had signed the *Exeter Association*; and this ^{A. D.} Convention was like the new Parliament * which ^{Ge. 1689.} General Monk assembled, on the 25th of April 1660. A Letter from the Prince of Orange was read in both Houses, which was to serve instead of a Speech; importing, "That it was incumbent upon them to lay the Foundations of a firm Security for their Religion, their Laws, and Liberty: *That* the dangerous Condition of the Protestants in *Ireland* required a large and speedy Succour: *That* a powerful Enemy had declared War against the State: And that he hoped their chearful Concurrence to preserve *England*, would meet with suitable Returns of Friendship and Assistance when required." The Moment the two Houses were formed his Commission expired, and they might have transferred the Regency to a joint Committee of their own, as Trustees for the People. But the two Houses addressed the Prince, as their DELIVERER, and desired him to exercise the Administration, till farther Application should be made by them. The Speaker represented to the Commons, "the Growth of the exorbitant Power of the *French* Monarch; and excited them to make such a powerful Diversion in the very Bowels of his Dominions, as that they might recover their first Conquest of *France*, or reunite the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Aquitain* to the Imperial Crown of *England*, which appertained to it, by an indisputable Right." Both Houses appointed the 31st of *January*, as a Day of Public Thanksgiving to God, for the happy *Deliverance* of the Nation. They refused to open the Letters sent them by the King, wherein he desired to return, and hold a free Parliament; which seemed a final Blow to his Authority, and an absolute Renunciation of their Allegiance.

THE Whigs had the Majority in the House of Commons; where it was voted, "that it was inconsistent with a Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince:" As also that Thanks should be given to the Clergy, who refused to read the Declaration for

* See Vol. II. p. 414.

A.D. for Toleration; and to the Army for their Adherence
 1689. to the Protestant Religion. Marshal Schomberg commu-
 nicated this Vote to the Army: But the Archbishop of
 Canterbury took no Notice of it to the Clergy.

THE Liberties of the People were now to be more
 obviously defined; the Prerogatives of the Crown more
 cautiously circumscribed; and the Constitution more
 permanently settled, than had yet been done, when
 Henry (a) the First, Stephen (b), Henry (c) the Second.
 John (d), Henry (e) the Third, Edward (f) the First,
 Henry (g) the Fourth, Henry (h) the Seventh, Edward (i)
 the Sixth, Mary (k), Elizabeth (l), James (m) the First,
 Charles (n) the First, Charles (o) the Second, and James (p)
 the Second, ascended the Throne.

THE first parliamentary Step was made by the Com-
 mons, on the 28th of January; when they proceeded,
 in a Committee of the whole House, to the great Con-
 sideration of the State and Condition of the Kingdom.
 Mr. Hampden was in the Chair; and Mr. Dolben, Son
 to the late Archbishop of York, was the first that stood
 up, and broke the Ice; who made a long Speech to
 prove the *Vacancy of the Throne*, by the Kingdom being
deserted by the King. He was seconded by Sir Richard
 Temple, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir George
 Treby, Mr. Somers, Mr. Garraway, Mr. Sacheverel, and
 Mr. Pollexfen. But Mr. Finch contradicted the Doctrine
 of the Vacancy; while he extolled the Courage, Con-
 duct, and Magnanimity of the Prince of Orange; whom
 he compared to those ancient Heroes that were
 contented with the Glory of freeing Nations, and de-
 stroying Tyrants, without any particular Design upon
 their

(a) See Vol. I. p. 194. (b) *Ibid.* p. 205. (c) *Ibid.*
 p. 214. (d) *Ibid.* p. 242, 253. (e) *Ibid.* p. 258, 263.
 (f) *Ibid.* p. 271, 272, 274. (g) *Ibid.* p. 329, 331.
 (h) See Vol. II. p. 5, 6. (i) *Ibid.* p. 66. (k) *Ibid.* p.
 86, 88. (l) *Ibid.* p. 114. (m) *Ibid.* p. 171, 175.
 (n) *Ibid.* p. 200, 208. (o) See this Vol. p. 8, 12, 14, 16.
 (p) *Ibid.* p. 262, 264.

their Crowns. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and Sir Edward Seymour, sided with Mr. Finch; and were "for establishing a Regency during the Life of King James, instead of declaring the Throne to be vacant." However, this grand Debate was closed with a Vote, "That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the ORIGINAL CONTRACT between King and People; and by the Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked Persons, having violated the fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, hath ABDICATED the Government, and that the Throne is thereby become vacant."

THIS complicated Resolution was one of the most memorable in all the *English* Records, and was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, where it met with Opposition. Their Lordships also resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, and the Earl of Danby had the Chair. The Earl of Nottingham alledged several Arguments for a Regency, taken from the *English* and other Histories: But particularly insisted upon what had lately happened in *Portugal*, where *Alphonso* the Sixth was deposed, and his Brother had only the Title of Regent. The Marquis of Halifax, and the Earl of Danby, demonstrated the insuperable Difficulties attendant upon a Regency: And, after a very long Debate, it was carried for a King by 51 Votes, against 49 for a Regency; though only two Bishops, out of 15, were with the Majority; because the Prelates were afraid openly to declare for deposing the King, as it would be contradicting whatever they had advanced in favour of *Non-resistance*, before they thought proper to adopt any Restriction. Fifty-three Lords carried the Question "for the *original Contract*," against Forty-six; which put an End to the Doctrine of *Divine Right*. But a Negative was passed upon the Words *Abdicated*, and *Vacant*; for the Word *Deserted* was substituted instead of the former; and the latter was entirely rejected, by Eleven Voices, on the Foundation

A. D. dation of the Law *Maxim*, "That the King * never
 dies."

THESE Resolutions tended more to confound than convict; for the Lords agreed, that the King had *deserted* the Government; yet they would not decide that the Throne was *vacant*, after they had rejected a Regency; and notwithstanding that Rejection was founded upon a Vacancy. Some of the Lords intended that King *James* should have an Opportunity of returning to the Crown; others might have Views of opening a Way to the Succession in favour of his Son; and many wanted the Princess of *Orange* to assume the Government upon the Doctrine of hereditary Right. The Tories still shewed such Prepossession to the Belief of Non-resistance, that they neither wanted to have the King deposed, or the Succession altered; and were, therefore, for a Regency, as if the King had been incapacitated from governing by some natural Infirmary. A disputed Title has always been attended with great Inconvenience, and particularly in *England*: But the Whigs insisted, that, if the young Prince was allowed to be Legitimate, it would be difficult to prove his Identity, now he was carried out of the Kingdom at so tender an Age; and that it would be always dangerous to admit him to the Throne, as he would be educated in Principles, and profess a Religion, that would be destructive to the *Constitution*.

THE Commons were dissatisfied with the Amendments made by the Lords; and a free Conference was held between the two Houses; for the Management of which the Commons appointed 24 of their ablest Members to meet several of the Lords, in the Painted Chamber, on the 6th of *February*. The principal Lords appointed for this important Conference, were the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Rochester*, and *Pembroke*, with the Bishop of *Ely*. Those of the most Eminence among the Commons, were Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Somers*, Serjeant *Holt*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *George Treby*, Mr. *Sachsverel*,

Sacheverel, Mr. Pollexfen, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Rich. A. D. and Temple, Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Foley, and Mr. Eyre. 1689.

The Importance of this Conference, and the Ability of the Managers, made it the most remarkable of any that was ever known in *England*; yet the Elocution of these great Statesmen was employed in a critical Dispute, that would as well have become an assembly of Grammarians; for a Profusion of Eloquence was exhausted more upon the Construction of a few Words, than upon the Essentials of the whole Constitution.

THE Lords had objected to the Word *Abdicated*; for two Reasons: First, because it was not known to the Common Law of *England*; and the next was because, in the most common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdication* is a voluntary express Act of Renunciation; which was not in this Case, nor what would follow from the Premises: Their Lordships also insisted on the Omission of these Words, *and that the Throne is VACANT*; because, if the Throne was vacant, the Crown was not elective, but hereditary; and no Act of the King could bar or destroy the Right of his Heirs.

MR. *Hampden* opened the Conference, by representing, "That the Commons had desired it, to make appear to the Lordships, that it was not without sufficient Reason, that they were induced to maintain their own Vote; and they could not agree to the Amendments made by their Lordships for the same Reasons. That this Way of Intercourse between both Houses by free Conference, where there was full Liberty of objecting, answering, and replying, the Commons thought the best Means to attain a good Issue and Determination of the Business in Debate, and to maintain a good Correspondence between both Houses; which would bring Honour and Strength to the Foundation that should be laid after all their late Convulsions, and discourage their Enemies from attempting to undermine it. That it was true, the present Difference between their Lordships and the Commons was only about a few Words: But the Commons thought their Words so significant to the Purpose for which they were used, and so proper to the

A. D. Case upon which they were applied, that they were by ¹⁶⁶⁹ no Means to be parted with. *That* the Commons conceived the Word *Abdicated*, was of larger Signification than the Word their Lordships were pleased to use *Desert*; but not too large to be applied to all the Recitals in the Beginning of the Commons Vote, to which they meant it should be applied. Nor ought it to be restrained to a voluntary express Resignation, only in Word or Writing, as there were Overt-Acts that would be significant enough to amount to it. *That* the Common Law of *England* was not acquainted with the Word; it was from the Modesty of the Law, that it was not willing to suppose there should be any unfortunate Occasion of making Use of it: And the Commons would have been willing, that they should never have had such an Occasion to have Recourse to it. *That* their Lordships had left out the last Words in the Commons Vote, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*; But the Commons conceived it was a true Proposition, and the Throne was vacant; and they thought, they made it appear that this was no new Phrase; neither was it a Phrase that perhaps some of the old Records might be Strangers to, or not well acquainted with: Nor could they think it chargeable with the Consequence that their Lordships had drawn from it, that it would make the Crown of *England* become elective. If the Throne had been full, their Lordships would have assigned that as a Reason of their Disagreement, by telling the Commons who filled it; and it would be known by some Public Act, which might notify to the People in whom the Kingly Government resided; neither of which had been done; and yet their Lordships would not allow the Throne to be Vacant."

Mr. Somers, who was afterwards Lord Chancellor, said, "That what was appointed him to speak to, was their Lordships first Amendment, by which the Word *Abdicated*, in the Commons Vote, was changed into the Word *Deserted*; and he was to acquaint their Lordships what some of the Grounds were, that induced the Commons to insist upon the Word *Abdicated*, and not to agree

to their Lordships Amendment. *That* if it be an Ob- A. D.
 jection, that the Word *Abdicated* had not a known Sense ^{1689.}
 in the Common Law of *England*, there was the same
 Objection against the Word *Deserted*; for there could
 be no Authority, or Book of Law produced, wherein
 any determined Sense was given to the Word *Deserted*:
 So that their Lordships first Reason had the same Force
 against their own Amendment, as it had against the
 Term used by the Commons. *That* the Words were
 both Latin Words, and used in the best Authors, and
 both of a known Signification: Their Meaning was very
 well understood; though it was true, their Meaning was
 not the same. The Word *Abdicate* naturally and pro-
 perly signified entirely to renounce, throw off, disown,
 relinquish any Thing or Person, so as to have no far-
 ther to do with it; and that whether it be done by ex-
 press Words or in Writing, which was the Sense their
 Lordships put upon it, and which was properly called
 Resignation or Cession; or, by doing such Acts as were
 inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the Thing,
 which the Commons took to be the present Case, and
 therefore made Choice of the Word *Abdicate*, as that
 which they thought did, above all others, most pro-
 perly express that Meaning: And in this latter Sense
 it was taken by others, and that it was the true Signi-
 fication of the Word, he should shew their Lordships
 out of the best Authors." He quoted *Grotius, de Jure*
Belli et Pacis; *Calvin's Lexicon Juridicum*; *Brissonus, de*
Verborum significatione; *Budæus* in his Commentaries *ad*
legem secundam de origine Juris: And *Præjeus*, in his *Lexi-*
con Juris. After which, he asserted, "*That* he who
 hath *Abdicated* any Thing, hath so far relinquished it,
 that he hath no Right of Return to it: And that was
 the Sense the Commons put upon the Word. It was
 an entire Alienation of the Thing; and was therefore
 insisted upon as the proper Word by the Commons.
But the Word *Deserted* had a very doubtful Significati-
 on; and, in the common Acceptance both of the Civil
 and Canon Law, signified only a bare withdrawing, a
 temporary quitting a Thing, and Neglect only, which

A. D. leaves the Party at Liberty of returning to it again.
 1689. *That* as the Commons did not take this to be the present Case, so they could not think that their Lordships did: Because it was expressly said, in one of their Reasons, that their Lordships had been, and were willing to secure the Nation against the Return of King *James*; which their Lordships could not in Justice do, if they looked upon it to be no more than a negligent withdrawing, which left a Liberty to the Party to return. *That*, for the same Reasons, the Commons could not agree to insert the Word *Deserted* instead of *Abdicated*, because it did not, in any Sort, come up to their Sense of the Thing: So, they apprehended, it did not reach their Lordships Meaning, as it was expressed in their Reasons: Whereas they looked upon the Word *Abdicated*, to express properly what was to be inferred, from that Part of the Vote to which their Lordships had agreed, that King *James* the Second had broke the original Contract between King and People, and had set up another Kind of Dominion, which was to all Intents an *Abdication*, or abandoning of his legal Title, as fully as if it had been done by express Words."

Mr. Serjeant *Holt*, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, seconded what had been advanced by Mr. *Somers*, and said, "as to that Part of their Lordships Objection, that the Word *Abdicated* was not known to the Common Law of *England*, that could not prevail; for their Lordships very well knew, we had very few Words in our Tongue of equal Antiquity with the Common Law: Their Lordships knew the Language of *England* was altered greatly in the several Successions of Time, and Intermixture of other Nations; and if the Commons should be obliged to make Use only of Words then known and in Use, what they should deliver in such a Dialect would be very difficult to be understood. *That*, in the most common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdication* is a voluntary express Act of Renunciation; and the Commons used the Word in this Case, because it had that Signification: But he did not know whether their Lordships meant a voluntary express Act or formal

formal Deed of Renunciation: If they did so, he knew A. D. of none in this Case. But, both in the Common Law ^{1689.} of *England*, and the Civil Law, and in common Understanding, there were express Acts of Renunciation that were not by Deed; for the Government and Magistracy was under a Trust; and any acting contrary to that Trust, was a renouncing of the Trust; though it be not a renouncing by formal Deed: For it was a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, though not in Writing, that he who hath the Trust, acting contrary, is a Disclaimers of the Trust; especially, if the Actings be such as were inconsistent with, and subversive of this Trust: For how could a Man, in Reason or Sense, express a greater Renunciation of a Trust, than by the constant Declarations of his Actions to be quite contrary to that Trust? This was so plain, both in Understanding and Practice, that he needed only to repeat it again, and leave it with their Lordships, that the doing an Act inconsistent with the Being and End of a Thing, or that should not answer the End of that Thing, but quite the contrary, that should be construed an Abdication, and formal Renunciation of that Thing.

HERE the Earl of *Nottingham* interposed, and said, "Their Lordships differed indeed from the Commons about the Words *Abdicated* and *Deserted*: But the main Reason of the Change of the Word and Difference, was upon the Account of the Consequence drawn in the Conclusion of the Commons Vote, that the Throne was thereby vacant; that is, what the Commons meant by that Expression? Whether they meant, it was so vacant as to null the Succession in the Hereditary Line, and so all the Heirs to be cut off? Which the Lords said would make the Crown elective. And it might be fit to settle that Matter first; and when the Lords knew what the Consequence of the Throne being vacant meant in the Vote, as the Commons understood it, he believed they should much better be able to settle the Difference about the two Words."

OLD Serjeant *Maynard* replied, "That when there was a present Defect of one to exercise the Admini-

a Renunciation of his Trust, and consequently his Place thereby vacant." A. D. 1689.

To this the Bishop of *Ely* added, "That the Word *Abdicated* was of too large a Signification for the Case in Hand; and therefore the Lords would have a Word made Use of, which signified only, The Censure of the Exercise of a Right. That there may be an *Abdication* that may forfeit the Power of a King only; and there may be one that may forfeit both that and the Crown too. Those *Abdications* that were of Power only, were Incapacities; whether natural and involuntary, as Defects of Age, Sense, or Body; or moral and voluntary, as Contrariety in Religion: But the highest Instance of an *Abdication* was, when a Prince was not only unable to execute his Power, but acted quite contrary to it. Now if this last Instance of an *Abdication* of both Power and Right, took Place in a successive Monarchy, the Consequence would be, that there was a Forfeiture of the whole Right; and then that Hereditary Succession was cut off; which he believed was not intended by the Commons. That there were many Examples, and too many Interruptions, in the lineal Succession of the Crown of *England*: But it could not follow, that every Breach of the first original Contract, gave the Lords and Commons Power to dispose of the lineal Succession; especially, since the Statutes of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James* the First, that established the Oath of Allegiance to the King, his Heirs, and Successors. That from King *William* the First, to King *Henry* the Eighth, there had been seven Interruptions of the legal Line of Hereditary Succession; but those Statutes were made since, and they were obliged to pursue those Laws, till altered by the Legislative Power, which he supposed they would not pretend to, without the Royal Assent; and these Laws being made since the last Interruption, they were not to go by any Precedent that was made before the making those Laws. That all he conceived, ought to be meant by the Vote was, but the setting aside the Person that broke the Contract: And, in a successive Kingdom, an *Abdication* could only be a For-

A. D. 1689. *feiture, as to the Person himself. That he hoped, both Lords and Commons were agreed in this, not to break the Line of Succession, so as to make the Crown Elective: And if it was declared, to be the Sense of both Houses, he hoped that would make all of one Mind in this important Affair."*

THE Earl of Clarendon admitted, "that the King was bounded by Law, and bound to perform the Laws made, or to be made: But he took Notice, that this Obligation proceeded not from the Coronation-Oath; for our Law saith, he is as much King before he is crowned, as he is afterwards: And there was a natural Allegiance due to him from the Subjects immediately upon the Descent of the Crown upon him. And though it was a very requisite Ceremony, to put him under a farther Obligation by the Conscience of his Oath; yet, as the King, he was bound to observe the Laws before; and no body would make that Oath to be the original Compact, as he supposed. That breaking through the Line, by a Choice out of the lineal Course, was an Alteration and a Precedent; which might make it perpetually elective. But, he thought, no Act of theirs could alter the lineal Succession; for, by all the Laws in being, the Government appeared to be Hereditary in a right Line of Descent: That upon any Descent, when any one ceased to be King, Allegiance was by Law due to his legal Heir, as Successor, as well before Coronation as after; and consequently there was no Vacancy."

THE Earl of Nottingham agreed, "That Abdication was a Civil-Law Word; for which Reason he was against using it; because he was so much in Love with our own Laws, that he would use no Words in a Case that so much concerned the legal Constitution, but what were fetched from thence. That it would be proper to postpone the Debate about the Word Abdicate, till the Vacancy of the Throne was settled."

THIS drew on a Reply from Sir George Treby, who said, "The Vacancy of the Throne followed, as an Inference drawn from the Acts of the King, which
were

were expressed most fully by the Word *Abdication*: And to enquire what the Consequence was, when the Fact was doubtful, from which the Consequence was to ensue, was beginning at the wrong End; and there could not be a greater Confusion in any Debate, than to state a Conclusion without the Premisses. That the Word *Abdicated* was agreed to be a *Renunciation*: And that the very Kingship itself, as including a Right to govern, may be *renounced*, and had been; it would be no difficult Matter to make out, by Instances in all Countries; not only where the Crown is, or was, elective; but also where it was hereditary and successive.

THE Earl of Nottingham demanded, "whether the Commons meant by *Abdication*, a renouncing for himself, or for himself and his Heirs? But he confessed, a King of England might renounce his Kingdom; and even by implicit Acts, contrary to the Kingly Office."

SIR George Treby rejoined, "That where a general Attempt was made by the King upon the Essence of the Constitution, with a plain Design to subvert the very Foundation of the Legislature, he *abdicated* and renounced the Government."

THE Earl of Rochester desired the Commons, "would express their own Meaning by the Word *Abdicated*." A Pause ensued; of which Mr. Hampden took the Advantage, to say it would be proper to go on to the other Amendment; and Mr. Sacheverel opened that Part of the Debate, by undertaking to prove that the Throne was *vacant*. He was seconded by Mr. Pollexfen; who was asked, by the Earl of Clarendon, how far the *Vacancy* was to extend? Serjeant Maynard said, "the Commons wanted not to make the Crown elective." And Mr. Pollexfen added, "he desired to know of their Lordships, who filled the Throne?" The Earl of Pembroke replied, "it was sufficient to know that there were Heirs who were to take the lineal Succession; though the Lords did not, or could not positively name the particular Person." The Earl of Nottingham said, "That though the King was not dead naturally; yet, if he was so civilly, the next of Course ought to come

At D. in as by hereditary Succession; for he knew not any
 1689. Distinction between Successors in the Case of a natural
 Death, and those in the Case of a civil one." All this
 tended only to carry the Debate on to Perplexity and
 Infinity. The Lords readily agreed, that *James* the Se-
 cond should be deprived of the Exercise of the Right
 to govern; but not of the Right itself; and opposed
 the Election of a new King, as if they intended gra-
 dually to lead the Commons to propose the Examina-
 tion of the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, whom
 they knew it would be impossible to prove supposititious
 in a legal Manner.

THE Commons maintained, " that the Throne was
vacant;" yet asserted, that, by using the Words *Abdi-*
cation and *Vacancy*, they had no Intention of making
 any Alteration of the *Constitution* of the Government:
 For, if the Commons had acknowledged, that the *Vacancy*
 of the Throne had rendered it elective, the Lords
 would have multiplied the Subjects of Dispute, and in-
 creased the Obstacles of the projected Establishment, by
 alledging that the *Constitution* would be subverted if
 the Crown was not hereditary. The Commons said, if
 the Throne was not *vacant*, the Convention was not
 justifiable, and the Nation drawn into a Snare: If the
 King had deprived himself of the Exercise of Govern-
 ment, he thereby deprived himself of all Right of Go-
 vernment; and if the Right was allowed to be still
 in him, a Regency could not be appointed, without
 setting up a Commonwealth. The Lords fully aimed
 at preserving the hereditary Succession, if the Throne
 was *vacant*: Though it was justly retorted, that no Per-
 son could pretend to be Heir to King *James* while he
 was living; and, as they had agreed that no Papist
 could ascend the Throne, it must be Elective, if the
 next Heir was a Papist: Or if the whole legal Line
 was to fail, the Throne must be filled by Election. The
 Commons doubted, that the Lords had been all guilty
 of High-Treason, by the Laws of *England*, if a known
 Successor were in Possession of the Throne, as he must
 be if the Throne were not *vacant*: They represented,
 that,

that, in the present unsettled Condition of the Nation, A. D. 1689.
 no Law could be executed, no Debts compelled to be paid, and no Offences punished: That it was now difficult to determine the Right of Inheritance, as the Succession was uncertain; and Things should not always remain in this Perplexity; therefore they desired the Lords to use what Words they thought proper, *fill up, nominate, or elect*; for it was the Thing they were to take Care of, and it was high Time it was done; because *the Welfare of the People was the supreme Law*; and the Settlement of the Crown would be taken Care of by the Settlement of the Constitution.

THE Conference ended, without any Determination: But it was necessary for the Lords, either to tell who was the hereditary Successor, or join with the Commons in an Election. The two Houses were now in the same Capacity as their Predecessors had been, to provide for all Exigencies as should emerge, and for the supplying all the Defects in the Government; which was the Law of Nature, and above all human Laws. The present Vacancy was nearest that of Richard the Second, of any that could be met with in the public Records; and, as the Phrase was used there, it was now thought proper; nor could an Alteration in Government be considered as a Precedent, but to a similar Case.

THE Commons, in the whole Sense of the Nation, had clearly the Advantage on their Side; and the Lords entered into a solemn Debate upon the Report of the Conference, in which it was moved, that the Birth of the Prince of Wales might be examined into. But this Motion was rejected; because, if the Imposture was not fully proved, it would strengthen the Pretension of his Birth. Some were willing this Affair should remain undecided, as it would be a Security to the Nation to have a dormant Title to the Crown, which might deter other Princes from acting like James the Second, while they might apprehend the Danger of a Revolt to a Pretender. Yet others said, "Here an Infant is condemned, and denied his Right; without either Proof or Enquiry." However the House of Lords, on the seventh

A. D. 1702. *seventh of February*, departed from their two Amendments, and agreed with the Commons, "That King *James* had *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne thereby become *Vacant*." This Vote was carried only by a Majority of 3 Voices, out of 120 present, and 38 protested. After which, both Houses entered upon Debates about the Succession, and carried them on with great Spirit.

THIS grand Affair threw the whole Kingdom into the strongest Agitation, and almost every Man became a Legislator in his own Opinion; whereby as many Schemes were adopted, as there were Parties existing. 1st. There was a considerable Party, that asserted all Right was originally and fundamentally in the People, who might set up what Form of Government they pleased: But they only wanted to reduce the Power of the King, without destroying the Monarchy, or rendering it elective. 2d. The Republicans wanted a Temporary Commonwealth during the Life of the King; to consist of a grand Committee of Lords and Commons, with the Prince as President, who was compared to the great *Andrea Doria* of *Genoa*. 3d. Most of the Bishops, with some High-Church Temporal Lords, were for a Regency. 4th. The Marquis of *Hallifax*, who had opposed the Bill of Exclusion, headed the Court Party, who were for investing all the regal Authority in the Prince alone. 5th. The Earl of *Darby* was at the Head of those who aimed at putting the Princess on the Throne, in her own Right. 6th. Most of the two last Parties coincided, by agreeing to put the Prince and Princessa together on the Throne.

THE Republican Party had also been for deposing King *James*, by a formal Sentence; and for giving the Crown to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, by as formal an Election; which was over-ruled in the Beginning. The Marquis of *Hallifax* moved, that the Crown should be given to the Prince of *Orange* alone; and to the two Princesses after his Death: But he was not seconded. Another Motion was made, that the Princess of *Orange* should be put on the Throne; and that it might

might be left to her to give the Prince such a Share ^{A. D.} either of Dignity or Power, as should be proposed, ¹⁶⁸⁹ when she should be declared Queen. But it was found necessary to pay more Respect to the Prince, when the Nation considered him as its *Deliverer*, without imploring him for an Arbitrator.

THE Prince of Orange supported a very mysterious Behaviour during these Debates, and affected no Kind of Popularity, nor attempted to win over any Person to his Party; saying, he came over to save *England*, and was ready to return to *Holland*, when the Nation had no farther Occasion of his Assistance. At last, he gave a Loose to his natural Reservedness of Temper; by declaring, to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and some other Lords, *that* he never would be a Regent: *That* he could never think of holding any Thing by Apron-strings, and would never reign by the Courtesy of his Wife; nor would he accept of any Share in the Government, unless it was such as was becoming a King. The Princess of *Orange* had the Equitable Right; but she always expressed an Indifference to the Crown, if the Prince was not to partake of the Dignity; and when Doctor *Burnet*, in 1686, explained to her the Title of *Henry* the Seventh, and what had passed when Queen *Mary* married *Philip* of *Spain*, the Princess readily agreed to give the Prince the real Authority whenever it came to her Hands, and endeavour effectually to get it legally invested in him during Life. There had been some Difference between the Prince and Princess at that Time; nor had he the Confidence to press this Matter on her during the nine Years they had been married, which *Burnet* brought about in a Day. Her Highness ordered *Burnet* to bring the Prince to her; when she told him, “ she did not know that the Laws of *England* were so contrary to the Laws of God, as the Doctor had informed her: She did not think that the Husband was ever to be obedient to the Wife: She promised him, he should always bear Rule: And she asked only, that he would obey the Command of *Husbands love your Wives*,

A. D.
1689.

Wives, as she should do that, Wives be obedient to your Husbands in all Things. When the Way was now clearing for the Succession, the Earl of *Danby* sent Word to the Princess, that he could carry it for setting her alone on the Throne: But she sent him a very sharp Answer, saying, that she was Wife to the Prince, and never would be other, than what she should be in Conjunction with him, and under him; as also, that she would take it extremely unkind, if any Persons, under a Pretence of their Care for her, should set up a divided Interest between her and the Prince.

As the Commons had been foremost to vacate the Throne, the Lords were now foremost to have it filled, and voted that the Vacancy should be supplied by the Prince and Princess of *Orange*: But as 65 Lords were for this Vote, 45 were against it, and 38 protested. No Provisions had been made for the Descent of the Crown; nor was it decided, whether the Prince and Princess were to hold a joint Sovereignty, or whether the Executive Power was to be placed in the Prince alone. The Commons also considered this as a Transfer of the Crown, without the expected Conditions in favour of the Subject; and insisted upon those Limitations, which had been neglected at the Restoration. They made Alterations and Amendments, to what had been voted by the Lords; who again altered and amended what had been done by the Commons; till, at last, they agreed, on the new Settlement of the Crown, and on a Declaration of the Rights of the Subjects, especially as the latter was agreeable to what the Prince had recommended in his Declaration from the *Hague*.

THE last Debate was concerning the Oaths that should be taken to the new King and Queen; for in the Oaths, as they were formerly conceived, a previous Title seemed to be asserted, when the King was sworn to as *right and lawful Heir*; which could not be said of a King who had not a precedent Right, but was set up by the Nation; and it was therefore agreed, that the Oaths should be reduced to their ancient Simplicity.

THE

THE Princess of *Orange* arrived at *Whitehall* from A. D. *Holland*, on the 12th, and took Possession of that Palace from which her Father had been so lately expelled, with such an Air of Levity and Unconcern as exposed her to much Censure : But she had a sensitive Feeling at her Heart, and this Gaiety of Countenance was only put on in Obedience to the Direction of her Husband. She expressed her Satisfaction at the Settlement of the Crown : The Princess *Anne* seemed contented with the Provision that was to be settled upon her : And every Thing was now in Readiness for completing this unparalleled REVOLUTION, by offering up a Crown as a free Gift from the People to their Highnesses.

WHITEHALL was the Place where this important Affair was to be finally settled ; and, on the 13th of *February*, both Houses of Lords and Commons proceeded in a Body to the Banqueting-House, where the Prince and Princess were seated under a large Canopy to receive them, and to hear the *Declaration of Rights*, which the Clerk of the Crown read aloud ; when every Thing was properly disposed. This Instrument was intended as a *New Magna Charta* ; and carried in it the noble Resentment of a People that had been just rescued from Tyranny ; and yet, that they might justify their Actions to Posterity, it recited all the particular Instances of the tyrannical Reign, in the following plain and dispassionate Simplicity.

‘ WHEREAS the late King *James* the Second, by the Assistance of divers evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom ; by assuming and exercising a Power of dispensing with, and suspending of Laws, without Consent of Parliament : By committing and prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed Power : By issuing and causing to be executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court called, The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes :

A. D. 1489. **Cause:** By levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other Manner, than the same was granted by Parliament: By raising and keeping a Standing-Army within this Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament, and quartering Soldiers contrary to Law: By causing divers good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to Law: By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament. By Prosecutions in the Court of King's-Bench for Matters and Causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal Courses. And whereas of late Years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified Persons, have been returned and served on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High-Treason, which were not Freeholders; and excessive Bail hath been required of Persons committed in criminal Cases, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subjects; and excessive Fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel Punishments inflicted; and several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons upon whom the same were to be levied: All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

AND whereas the said late late King *James* the Second, having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious Instrument of delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power, did, by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal Persons of the Commons, cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs, and Cinque-Ports, for the choosing of such Persons to represent them, as
were

were of Right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at *Westminster*, upon the 22d Day of *January*, in the Year 1688, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties, might not again be in Danger of being subverted: Upon which Letters, Elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their several Letters and Elections, being now assembled in a full and free Representative of this Nation, taking into their most serious Consideration the best Means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do in the first Place, as their Ancestors in like Case have usually done, for vindicating and asserting their ancient Rights and Liberties; declare,

1st, THAT the pretended Power of suspending Laws, or Execution of Laws, by regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is illegal. 2^d, That the pretended Power of *Dispensing* with Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by regal Authority, as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal. 3^d, That the Commission for erecting the late Court of *Commissioners for ecclesiastical Causes*, and all other Commissions and Courts of the like Nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4th, That *levying of Money* for, or to the Use of the Crown, by Pretence of *Prerogative*, without Consent of Parliament, for longer Time, or in any other Manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal. 5th, That it is the Right of the Subjects to *petition* the King; and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal. 6th, That the raising or keeping a *standing Army* within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law. 7th, That the Subjects, which are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Condition, and as allowed by Law. 8th, That *Elections* of Members of Parliament ought to be free. 9th, That the *Freedom of Speech*, and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament. 10th, That

excessive

A. D. *excessive* Bail ought not to be required, nor *excessive* 1689. *Fines* imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted. 11th, That *Jurors* ought to be duly impaneled and returned; and *Jurors* which pass upon Men in Trials of High-Treason, ought to be *Freeholders*. 12th, That all Grants and Promises of *Fines* and *Forfeitures* of particular Persons, before Conviction, are illegal and void. 13th, And that, for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently. And they claimed, demanded, and insisted, upon all, and singular the Premises, as their undoubted *Rights* and *Liberties*. Having, therefore, an entire *Confidence*, that the Prince of *Orange* would perfect the *Deliverance* so far advanced by him, and would still preserve them from the Violation of their *Rights*, which they had here asserted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, *Rights*, and *Liberties*, they resolved, "That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of *Orange*, be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and royal Dignity during their *Lives*, and the *Life* of the *Survivor*: And that the sole and full *Exercise* of the *regal Power* be only in, and executed by the *Prince*, in the Names of them both, during their joint *Lives*; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and royal Dignity to be to the Heirs of the Body of the Princess; and for Default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of *Orange*." And they prayed the Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly. They also resolved, that the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be abrogated; and that other Oaths should be taken instead of them. By the first of these new Oaths, all Persons, of whom the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy might be required, were "sincerely to promise and swear, to be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King *William* and Queen

Queen *Mary*." And by the second, any such Person ^{A. D.} was to swear as follows; "I do from my Heart abhor, ^{1689.} detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of *Rome*, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potente, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm."

AFTER the reading of this *Declaration*, which was the most memorable and significant that had been known since *Magna Charta*, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, as Speaker of the House of Lords, made a solemn Tender of the Crown to their Highnesses in the Name of both Houses, as the Representative of the Nation. The Prince then addressed himself to the Lords and Gentlemen; thankfully accepted what they offered; and promised to concur in any Thing that should be for the Good of the Kingdom. The same Day the Prince and Princess were, according to the Declaration, proclaimed King and Queen of *England, France, and Ireland*; by the Names of *William and Mary*; which was done by the Authority of the Lords, Commons, and Magistracy of *London*: But they were not crowned till the 11th of *April*: And, on the 16th of *February* following, the *Declaration of Rights* was farther ratified by the Force of a Law, made in due Form by Authority of Parliament, intitled, "An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown;" whereby it was enacted, that all the Rights and Liberties asserted in the *Declaration*, are the true, ancient, and indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*; and so shall be allowed, adjudged, and taken. And that the Crown and regal Government should be and continue according to the Limitation and Succession made in the Declaration; to which both Houses of Parliament, in the Name

A. D. Name of all the People, most *humbly and faithfully* submitted themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities for ever; 1689. promising to defend the same, to the utmost of their Powers, with their Lives and Estates, against all Persons whatsoever that should attempt any Thing to the contrary." By this Act, it was also enacted, "that all and every Person and Persons, that is, are, or *shall be reconciled to*, or shall hold Communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall *marry a Papist*, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government; or to have, use, or exercise any regal Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction within the same; and, in such Case, the People shall be hereby absolved of their Allegiance; and the Crown and Government descend to, and be enjoyed by, the next Protestant Heir, as if such Papist was naturally dead."

THE Convention of Estates in Scotland followed this Example, on the 11th of April, by drawing up Resolutions which enumerated all the Grievances they had sustained under the Reign of James the Seventh; particularly, "that he had never taken the Coronation-Oath required by Law; had invaded the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, by altering it from a legal limited Monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic Power; by introducing Popery, and suppressing Presbytery; imposing Oaths contrary to Law; exacting Money illegally; keeping up a standing Army; imposing exorbitant Fines; imprisoning some Persons without expressing the Reason, and prosecuting others upon obsolete Laws and frivolous Pretences, as particularly the late Earl of Argyle,* to the Scandal of the Justice of the Nation; and subverting the Rights of the Royal Boroughs, the third Estate of Parliament: All which were contrary to the Laws, Freedoms, and Statutes of Scotland; whereby the said King James forfeited the Crown, and

* See this Vol. p. 42, — 231, — 274.

and the Throne was become vacant". They, therefore, A. D. declared the same *Confidence* in their Deliverer as had ^{1689.} been done by the Convention of *England*; and settled the Crown of *Scotland* in the same Manner, by declaring and proclaiming *William* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*, with the same Entail of the Crown. as had been made in *England*.

THESE are the Causes that each Nation had for this ever-memorable Revolution, which restored the dying Religion, Liberties, and *Constitution* of both Kingdoms. This Settlement of the two Crowns was afterwards extended to the House of *Hanover*; and, as these Crowns were united in 1603, the two Kingdoms were also in 1707.

No more of *Papal Fury*; and no more
Of *Tyranny*, are heard on *Britain's* Shore.
The People are *deserted* by their King!
—Again the *Graces* dance, the *Muses* sing,
As round the *vacant* Throne, the *Patriots* stand,
With a *New Charter* * to protect the Land.
Freedom, again, exalts her glorious Head;
Chearful, as when she smil'd at *Rummemead*: †
Again, *Religion* opes her radiant Eyes;
As when *Eliza* ‡ bade her Altars rise:
And *Justice*, now, her State assumes again;
As when she crown'd the glorious *Alfred's* || Reign.
Illustrious ORANGE, and his *Royal Mate*,
Kind *Heav'n* ordain'd the *Guardians of the State*:
The grateful *People*, their *Deliv'rer* own;
And give the *Belgic* Prince the *British* Throne.

So

* *The Declaration of Rights.*

† See Vol. I. p. 253.

‡ See Vol. II. p. 116,—166.

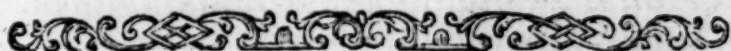
|| See Vol. I. p. 123,—127.

So, when some *Falcon*, with rapacious Eye,
 Spreads Terror through the Regions of the Sky;
 The gen'rous *Eagle*, from his Airy soars;
 And drives the *Falcon* to some distant Shores:
 While, safe protected by the *Bird of Jove*,
 One joyful Hymn swells from the *Songsters* of the Grove. 99

END of the THIRD VOLUME.

16 MA 64





BOOKS Printed for and Sold by W.
OWEN, at Homer's Head, near Temple-
Bar, in Fleet-street.

(With his MAJESTY's Royal Licence and
Protection)

This Day is Published,

In Four Large Volumes in OCTAVO ;

Illustrated with above Three Hundred Copper-
Plates elegantly Engraved, Price bound 2*l.* 5*s.*
or bound in Eight Volumes 2*l.* 8*s.*

A NEW and COMPLETE DICTIONARY
of ARTS and SCIENCES: Comprehend-
ing all the Branches of USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.
With accurate Descriptions as well of the *various*
Machines, Instruments, Tools, Figures, and Schemes,
necessary for illustrating them, as of the *Classes,*
Kinds, Preparations, and Uses of natural Productions,
whether *Animals, Vegetables, Minerals, Fossils, or*
Fluids ; together with the *Kingdoms, Provinces, Ci-*
ties, Towns, and other remarkable Places through-
out the *World.* The Whole extracted from the best
Authors in all Languages.

By a SOCIETY of GENTLEMEN.

2. SEVERAL DISCOURSES preached
at the Temple-Church, by THOMAS SHERLOCK,
D.D. late Master of the Temple, now Lord Bishop
of London. The Second Edition, in three Volumes
8vo. Price bound 15*s.*

3. WINTER EVENINGS ENTERTAINMENT. Consisting of the best Novels and Histories that could be collected from the best Writers of various Countries ; among which is the celebrated History of Theagenes and Chariclea, allowed by all good Judges, to be the most entertaining and best calculated Novel ever published ; and is a very proper Supplement to Dr. Croxal's Collection. Neatly printed in Two Pocket Volumes. Price bound 6s.

4. MOTIVES and INCENTIVES to the LOVE of GOD, pathetically discoursed of in such a Manner, as may excite the warmest Devotion, and most fervent Love towards God. In a Letter from the Hon. ROBERT BOYLE, to a young Gentleman, for whom he had a great Value. Price 2 s. 6 d.

5. A LADY's RELIGION, in TWO LETTERS to the Honourable Lady HOWARD. The Third Edition. By a Divine of the Church of ENGLAND. To which is added, A LETTER to a LADY on the Death of her HUSBAND, by the Editor. Neatly printed in a Pocket Volume, Price Bound 1 s. 6 d.

6. The UNIVERSAL MERCHANT. Containing the *Rationale* of COMMERCE, in Theory and Practice. Beautifully printed in Quarto, Price Bound 10s. 6d.

7. A DISSERTATION on the USE of SEA-WATER in the Diseases of the Glands ; particularly the Scurvy, Jaundice, King's-Evil, Leprosy, and the Glandular Consumption. Translated from the Latin of R. RUSSEL, M. D. The second Edition, revised, and carefully corrected, by an eminent Physician. Price bound 2 s. 6 d.

-
ft
n
h
,
;
s
-
S
l
-
a
s
e